

RECONCEPTUALIZING THE GENTRIFICATION PROCESS:
THE CASE OF CİHANGİR, İSTANBUL

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ABSTRACT

RECONCEPTUALIZING THE GENTRIFICATION PROCESS: THE CASE OF CİHANGİR, İSTANBUL

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Gentrification in the most general sense is the invasion of the working class quarters by the middle classes. Since the gentrification debate has revealed in 1964 by Ruth Glass, the term has been discussed too much. There have appeared various approaches by different scholars. Gentrification has not only become widespread but also integrated into wider urban and global processes after the 1980s. After more than 50 years in the gentrification literature, there have appeared new debates on the term. Since the beginning of 2000s, new forms of gentrification have emerged and taken place in the gentrification debates. Gentrification has moved away from its classical form. Therefore it is not possible to explain gentrification via the factors of classical gentrification anymore. While gentrification processes in the neighborhood transformation have been explained with physical and socio-demographic factors; recent literature and publications are explaining gentrification processes with different factors and variables.

This thesis study aims to explore the socio-demographic and spatial shifts in the already gentrified neighborhood Cihangir and investigate the changes in the socio-demographic structure. As the neighborhood has already gentrified, it actually provides a basis for discussing the new debates of gentrification. In terms of new gentrification debates Cihangir will be examined with qualitative research methods. Selected new concepts namely diversity, tolerance, and personal network and meeting places will be used as factors to find out new residential groups and the relations between the new and old groups.

Keywords: Gentrification, Diversity, Tolerance, Personal Network, Cihangir

ÖZ

SOYLULAŞTIRMA SÜRECİNİN YENİDEN KAVRAMSALLAŞTIRILMASI: İSTANBUL, CİHANGİR ÖRNEĞİ

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Soylulaştırma en genel anlamıyla, çalışan sınıfın yaşam alanlarının orta sınıf tarafından işgal edilmesidir. Soylulaştırma tartışması 1964 yılında Ruth Glass tarafından tanımlanmasından bu yana, kavram çok fazla tartışılmıştır. Farklı araştırmacılar tarafından çeşitli yaklaşımlar ortaya çıkmıştır. 1980'lerden sonra soylulaştırma yalnızca daha da yaygınlaşmamış, aynı zamanda daha geniş kentsel ve küresel süreçlerle bütünleşmiştir. Soylulaştırma literatüründe 50 yıldan fazla geçen bir sürenin arkasından, kavram üzerinde yeni tartışmalar ortaya çıkmıştır. 2000'lerin başından itibaren yeni soylulaştırma biçimleri belirmiş ve bu biçimler soylulaştırma tartışmalarında yerlerini almıştır. Soylulaştırma klasik biçiminden uzaklaşmıştır. Buna bağlı olarak soylulaştırmayı klasik soylulaştırma faktörleri ile açıklamak olanaksızlaşmıştır. Mahalle dönüşümündeki soylulaştırma süreçleri fiziksel ve sosyo-demografik faktörler ile açıklanırken; son literatür ve yayınlar, soylulaştırma süreçlerini farklı faktörler ve değişkenler ile açıklamaktadırlar.

Bu tez çalışması, soylulaşmış bir mahalle olan Cihangir'deki sosyo-demografik ve mekânsal değişimleri araştırmayı ve Cihangir'in sosyo-demografik yapısındaki değişimleri incelemeyi amaçlamaktadır. Mahalle hâlihazırda soylulaşmış olduğu için, yeni soylulaştırma tartışmalarını ele almak için uygun bir zemin sağlamaktadır. Cihangir, yeni soylulaştırma tartışmaları bağlamında, niteliksel araştırma metodu ile incelenecektir. Çeşitlilik, tolerans ve kişisel ağ ve buluşma mekânları olarak seçilen yeni kavramlar, mahalle içindeki yeni grupları ve buna ek olarak eski ve yeni gruplar arasındaki ilişkileri ortaya çıkarmak üzere kullanılacaktır.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Soylulaştırma, Çeşitlilik, Tolerans, Kişisel Ağ, Cihangir

To my little miss sunshine Venüs

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

1.1 Problem Definition

Since the term has been coined by Ruth Glass in 1964, gentrification has been subjected to numerous discussions and attracted more and more interest over the past 50 years. There appeared many different approaches and theoretical explanations by different scholars. Some scholars explained gentrification processes with the stage models. On the other side while some focused on the economic side of gentrification; others emphasized the consumption and demand motives exercised by gentrifiers with respect to the reasons of gentrification. Also some discussed gentrification in a positive approach; others embraced the negative effects of gentrification. In a nutshell, there exist several theories of gentrification.

After the 1980s, the context of gentrification processes has started to go through certain changes. Till then gentrification has been discussed restricted to Anglo-American cities. However afterwards gentrification has extended to the other countries and relatedly gentrification has integrated with wider global processes and became widespread around the world. New forms of gentrification have emerged and gentrification has taken a new dimension. Gentrification has shifted from its classical form to new debates and forms. Therefore it is not rational to explain gentrification processes via classical gentrification explanations. These new theories may provide opportunity to embrace gentrification processes and there needs to arise for analyzing gentrification processes in different ways.

In order to discuss the newly emerging gentrification debates, an already gentrified neighborhood which already passed through classical gentrification processes may provide a basis. Cihangir a neighborhood located in the European side of İstanbul is one of the first neighborhoods that gentrification has occurred in the city during the early 1990s. In fact the gentrification process has taken a different form in the neighborhood. Therefore within the thesis Cihangir is selected as a case study area in order to discuss the shifting debates in gentrification literature.

1.2 Aim of the Thesis

The aim of the thesis is to identify and explain the new forms of gentrification first. Following the previous literature researches, new modes of gentrification are discussed. In order to investigate these new modes of gentrification processes and shed light on these new debates, an already gentrified neighborhood Cihangir is selected as a case study area. These new dynamics of gentrification is aimed to be embraced in the selected neighborhood. As the neighborhood has already gentrified, it actually provides a basis for discussing the new debates of gentrification. In terms of new gentrification debates Cihangir will be examined by qualitative research methods.

While classic gentrification processes in neighborhood transformation have been explained with physical (location, historical center, public transportation hub, authenticity, architectural characteristics, and natural amenities) and socio-demographic (age, gender, income, education level, occupation, number of children) factors; recent literature and publications are explaining gentrification processes with different factors and variables. In this respect the main question of the thesis is defined as “*what are the socio-demographic factors of new gentrification processes in Cihangir where gentrification has emerged in the early 1990s?*”.

Selected new concepts namely diversity, tolerance, and personal network and meeting places are used as factors to find out new residential groups and the relations between the new and old groups in respect of new gentrification debates. The study

has an attempt to observe the new social groups in new gentrification processes. It aims to explore the socio-demographic and spatial shifts in the already gentrified neighborhood Cihangir and investigate the changes in the socio-demographic structure via selected concepts related to new gentrification debates.

1.3 Methodology of the Thesis

For the study, the methodology of qualitative research is employed and a case study is chosen as a research method. Cihangir as being one of the gentrified neighborhoods in İstanbul is used as a field area of the research. As Cihangir has witnessed gentrification during the early 1990s, it has been subjected to various studies by different scholars. The study discusses the newly emerged gentrification debates in Cihangir via qualitative research methods and it aims to observe the new social groups in the neighborhood. As the study is based on qualitative research methods, in-depth interview results and personal observations are used.

In-depth interviews are conducted within the frame of the research project called “Practices and Policies for Neighborhood Improvement: Towards 'Gentrification 2.0'” funded by the Scientific and Technological Research Council of Turkey (TUBITAK) JPI Urban Europe with ten groups of actors of interest namely academicians, community groups, entrepreneurs, investors, journalists, the municipality, political parties, real estate agents, residents, and visitors. The thesis focuses on the resident interviews of the project. Snowball sampling was used during the in-depth interviews. The interviews are done mostly with current residents while some of them are with ex-residents who moved out from the neighborhood. Then in the case chapter, all the chosen in-depth interviews are discussed under the three headings namely diversity, tolerance, and personal network and meeting places. The key words which are identified in the literature review related to the contemporary debates and in order to define new groups in Cihangir are elaborated in the case study. The major findings of the case study related to the in-depth interviews and personal observations are represented. In Chapter 3, the research methodology of the study is embraced in detail.

1.4 Trajectory of the Thesis

The study consists of five chapters building on each other. Chapter 1 briefly introduces the scope of the study and the aim of the study.

Chapter 2 is based on a review of the gentrification literature. A comprehensive overview of theories with regard to gentrification is provided in this chapter. The chapter begins by discussing the birth of gentrification and the invention of the term by Glass in 1964. Correspondingly the different definitions of the term are discussed. The early stage models that are developed to explain the gentrification processes are examined in detail. Different scholars embrace the causes of gentrification with either production – supply side explanations or consumption – demand side explanations. The study points to these production and consumption explanations and highlights that neither side is comprehensible without each other. Also the consequences both in a positive and negative manner and where gentrification occurs are represented. Also the classical discussions on gentrifiers' are asserted. Today in gentrified areas, gentrification is going through certain changes in other words gentrification is mutating into different types. In fact the process is going into a different phase. Regarding this, how the term gentrification has changed and mutated overtime from its classical form into other new debates is elaborated in the following parts. The current dynamics of the gentrification processes are discussed. Three of the new debates namely super gentrification, studentification, and creative class are examined in detail. Related to the new forms of gentrification, new social groups are appearing. Those categorizations of gentrifiers are mentioned. Finally, the study discusses the relevance of gentrification discussion in the context of İstanbul which actually serves a basis for next chapters.

In Chapter 3, first of all begins by presenting the methodology of the study. Later, the dynamics of the cities that went through certain changes as a result of deindustrialization is tackled. Also the same evolution process for İstanbul is discussed. The historical evolution of Beyoğlu is examined in detail. The history of Cihangir which is an already gentrified neighborhood in Beyoğlu district presented. In the light of previous gentrification studies on Cihangir, the gentrification

processes are exhibited and also gentrifiers of Cihangir are discussed. The chapter also briefly describes the location of the neighborhood and relatively the public spaces and meeting venues in Cihangir are introduced.

Chapter 4 is the case study part. As qualitative research methods are introduced for the study, in-depth interviews and personal observations are used as a data collection in the fourth chapter. The major findings of the case study related to the in-depth interviews and personal observations are represented. The new factors namely diversity, tolerance, and personal network and meeting places which are identified in the literature review related to the new gentrification debates in order to define new groups in Cihangir and the relations between the new and old groups are elaborated in the case study.

Chapter 5 is about the conclusions based on the findings discussed in the case study chapter. Also contributions and implications for further research are presented.

CHAPTER 2

THEORIES OF GENTRIFICATION

2.1 Terms and Key Concepts of Gentrification

The term gentrification that was first coined by Ruth Glass in 1964 has been subject to a great number of studies until today. An extensive literature has been developed on gentrification since the introduction of the term. Many scholars in a variety of research fields and disciplines such as urban planning, urban geography, sociology, and geography have redefined and studied the term gentrification. When it comes to defining gentrification many scholars underline the results of the process. In fact, each scholar deliberates over gentrification from a different viewpoint and refers to different points. Instead of its causes many scholars agree about its outcomes. As a result, shared agreements about gentrification highlight displacement and the related transformation of a place's economic, social, and physical character (Brown-Saracino, 2010). Actually it is apparent that gentrification is an economic, cultural, political, social, and institutional phenomenon (Lees, Slater & Wyly, 2008).

Defining gentrification is not an easy task and it is a kind of challenge as it has an extensive literature research from different scholars with different research fields and perspectives. Lees, Slater and Wyly (2010) indicate that as definitions evolve in time, the act of definition is not a simple process. In this regard, in the introduction part of *The Gentrification Reader*, Lees, Slater and Wyly (2010) first take a look at the different editions of *The Dictionary of Human Geography* to show the evolution of the term gentrification in time. Firstly, in 1994 in the third edition, gentrification is

defined as a neighborhood regeneration process which is related to displacement of low income people with wealthy ones and comparatively upgrading of the housing quality. The neighborhoods which are subject to regeneration are mostly close to the city center and have a deteriorated building stock. In consequence of the improvement of the area, it will be more attractive for people who would prefer to live there and the socio-economic status of the entire area will change relatively which also will increase property prices (Lees, Slater & Wyly, 2010).

After more, in 2000 in the fourth edition of *The Dictionary of Human Geography*, gentrification is mentioned as the reinvestment of capital in the urban center where more space is produced as more wealthy people occupy the area. Ruth Glass used the term in the sense of residential aspects when she coined the term gentrification in 1964 however the meaning of gentrification is changing anymore. In fact, it now includes commercial redevelopment and loft conversions besides residential rehabilitation (Lees, Slater & Wyly, 2010).

Lastly, in 2009 according to the latest fifth edition of *The Dictionary of Human Geography*, gentrification is defined as redevelopment or renovation of older inner city districts which were formerly belonged to lower income people even though they are occupied by middle class people now. Ruth Glass detected both the arrival of the “*gentry*” and accordingly the occurrence of social transformation in different districts of 1960s London. In the following years, gentrification appeared in other large cities namely San Francisco, New York, Boston, Toronto, and Sydney. In the recent period it is also identified in smaller urban centers in Southern and Eastern Europe besides other large cities in Asia and Latin America (Lees, Slater & Wyly, 2010).

After analyzing three different editions of *The Dictionary of Human Geography*, it is seen that even though in 1994 gentrification is matched with residential aspects, in 2000 besides residential redevelopment or regeneration, commercial redevelopment is mentioned. In the most recent edition in 2009, gentrification was seen as a global urban process with social change. Therefore it is clear that gentrification and its

definition have changed within the last 15 years from an urban phenomenon to a global urban process happening all over the world (Franz, 2013).

To sum up, gentrification has broadened and the process has taken a different form in time. As being an evolving and expanding process, gentrification has become a transnational process matched with larger economic, political, and social changes. Before discussing the current arguments with regards to the theories of gentrification, it is significant to clarify the term gentrification and how the term has changed over time.

2.1.1 The Birth of Term Gentrification

The German-born British sociologist Ruth Adele Glass introduced the term gentrification in 1964 referring to the transformation of poor and working class neighborhoods of London to the middle class enclaves. She used the term referring to the replacement of an existing population by new urban gentry (Lees, Slater & Wyly, 2010). In her article *Aspects of Change* in which Ruth Glass coined the term gentrification, she did not foresee at that time that gentrification was not just particular for London (Brown-Saracino, 2010). Since the time of Glass's article, numerous studies were done on the subject (Atkinson & Bridge, 2005).

In her article, Ruth Glass (1964) began by stating that the situation of London in 1963 was the synthesis of new and old. She asserted that the things which were luxuries before had become the essentialness for society. London was experiencing the process of becoming *Americanized* and indicating the wealthy Western World (Glass, 1964). According to Glass's observations, the less was remained from the city's former characteristics. Due to the increasing metropolitan area macroform, people were forced or willingly wanted to go outwards of the city. This was the process of suburbanization. The population in the Central London was decreasing; vice versa daily travels from suburban were increasing. Hence there was traffic jam whole day and no place for movement (Glass, 1964). In the meantime, new professions were appeared in consequence of the advance of technology, labor

division and consumer expenditure increases. Many new occupations were looking for employers namely project engineer, production executive, system analyst, computer shift leader, sales promotion specialist, attitude tester, beauty operator, public relations manager, window-dresser, and so on. New minority groups have appeared as a result (Glass, 1964).

One by one, many of the working class quarters of London have been invaded by the middle classes – upper and lower. Shabby, modest mews and cottages – two rooms up and down – have been taken over, when their leases have expired, and have become elegant, expensive residences. Larger Victorian houses, downgraded in an earlier or recent period – which were used as lodging houses or were otherwise in multiple occupation – have been upgraded once again. Nowadays, many of these houses are being sub-divided into costly flats or ‘houselets’. The current social status and value of such dwellings are frequently in inverse relation to their size, and in any case enormously inflated by comparison with previous levels in their neighborhoods. Once this process of gentrification starts in a district, it goes on rapidly until all or most of the original working class occupiers are displaced, and the whole social character of the district is changed. (Glass, 1964, pp. 22-23)

Ruth Glass (1964) pointed out that space competition felt heavily as this “*invasion*” had increased in other districts. This ended up increase in property prices in districts of London or near London. Some of them were left to decay which are not suitable for investment while the ones close to main alters and close to growing middle class areas became the places of privilege and extravagant rents. Glass (1964) indicated that the ones who can still afford to live and work in London anymore and she predicts that *an embarrass de richesse* was near future of in Central London. The manufacturing industries moved to outer areas, and small workshops, retailers, small food shops gave way to supermarkets and started to disappear. All in all displacement was in great numbers. People who could not afford their living anymore were squeezed out (Glass, 1964).

Taking into account all of these, once gentrification becomes the subject, many people would search the term to the period just before 1964 when Ruth Glass coined the term. However there are other researchers who suggest gentrification has a longer history and does not date back to the 1960s. In direct contrast to Glass, a Scottish geographer Neil Smith claims that the roots of gentrification can be followed to the

century before Glass invented the term. Smith (1998) mentions about the embourgeoisement of Paris. After demolition of residential areas of poor people in Paris, they were displaced and new boulevards were done. Moreover, Smith (1998) writes about former gentrification examples with reference to a print revealed by Roman Cybriwsky (1980) which shows a displacement of a family from a tenement in Nantes in 1685. Besides Smith, Eric Clark (2005) also thinks that gentrification is not a process that has begun in 1960s when Ruth Glass found the term. Like Smith, Clark (2005) refers to Friedrich Engel's argument of working class displacement in the mid-1800s and also Haussmann's renovation plan in Central Paris which resulted with embourgeoisement. By doing this, he argues that gentrification has a former history and it is pointless to associate its genesis to 1960's Islington, London. The definition of Glass is later mentioned as "*classical gentrification*" in which disinvested inner-city neighborhoods are improved by pioneer gentrifiers while indigenous residents are displaced (Lees, Slater & Wyly, 2008).

2.1.2 The Other Definitions of Gentrification

Since the term gentrification was revealed in 1964, many scholars from different disciplines have studied on it. As one of the early definitions, Smith (1982) defines gentrification as a process in which working class residential areas are rehabilitated by middle class. He indicates that while redevelopment involves the construction of new buildings, gentrification is about rehabilitation of old structures. On the other hand, according to Zukin (1987) a sociology professor, gentrification as a movement that has begun in 1960s is the transformation of working class districts by middle class groups. Zukin (1987) asserts that from the beginning of the invention of the term, gentrification asserts the interest in historic buildings and it means a process of spatial and social change. With the private market investment in central areas in major urban centers, deteriorated buildings are renovated and new cultural amenities are clustered. Investments while showing over selectivity are mainly seen in areas with historical value. Gentrification results with geographical reshuffling hence professional, managerial, and technical workers in service sectors relocate (Zukin,

1987). According to Zukin (1987) in North America and Western Europe new residential patterns are formed during the 1970s based on capital reinvestment in deteriorated houses close to central business districts. Investments are done mainly via sweat equity of white collar workers who have nontraditional life styles. These statements of Zukin (1987) correspond to Clay's stage one of gentrification actually. As service sector expands and new cultural and commercial amenities are arisen, existence of new gentry group changed the form of center concomitantly. Moreover, Jackson and Hudman (1990) define gentrification as a renewal of the deteriorated residential neighborhoods in the inner city where lower income residents are living. First upper class families move in and then renovate the properties. Therefore gentrification emerges due to the desire of these urban gentry (as cited in Uzun, 2001).

On the other hand, Kennedy and Leonard (2001) as cited in Ergün (2006) mention about four distinct characteristics of gentrification which are the involuntary movement and displacement of low income groups, the change of area's character besides the change of social structure, rehabilitation of properties besides other physical and social variables, and the effects beyond residential area at the level of city and region. Moreover, Davidson and Lees (2005) introduces four essential points that gentrification definition should contain. These are reinvestment of capital, social upgrading of local by incoming high-income groups, landscape change, and finally direct or indirect displacement of low income groups (as cited in Mathema, 2013). Clark (2005) on the other hand criticizes the definition of gentrification due to being limited in terms of geography and history in other places compared to Anglo-American gentrification processes. He discusses a definition which allows different gentrification process for instance in rural, suburban, new-build, or non-residential area. By doing that, he actually discusses for a more inclusive and broader definition of gentrification. Also, Lees (2003) emphasizes the risk of expansive definition of the terms which may result in loss of conceptual sharpness and specificity.

Anyhow, as gentrification is a dynamic process, related with time and space its components and the roles of the actors also change (Mathema, 2013). After the birth

of the term gentrification in 1964, in the early 1980s stage models are developed. During the 1980s, gentrification is explained on the one hand with production based theories, on the other hand with consumption based theories. After 1990s, new aspects are started to be observed

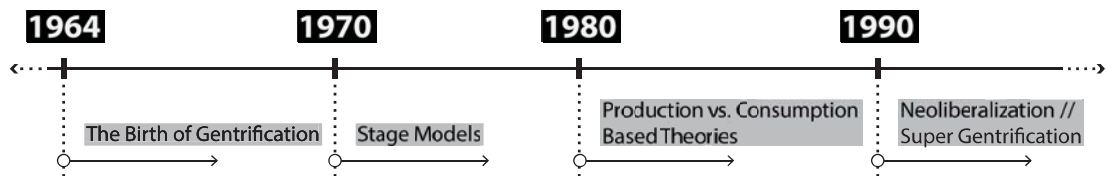


Table 2.1 The history of gentrification

Stage Models

Some scholars after examining different gentrification cases have ended up with stage models. The main aim of the stage models is to connect all different theories and explanations of gentrification (Uzun, 2001). The early stage models were developed in the 1970s and 1980s in order to clarify the process and foresee the future course of gentrification (Lees, Slater & Wyly, 2008). Phillip Clay (1979) developed one of the first stage models of gentrification with four stages from pioneer gentrification to maturing gentrification in order to formulate the various waves of gentrification. He based the model on gentrification examinations in Boston neighborhood. The cycle was formed with two actors namely pioneers and gentrifiers (Franz, 2013).

In stage one, risk oblivious people in other words “*pioneers*” start to move into the neighborhood but they mostly choose vacant houses or a house from a normal market turnover. Therefore there occurs little displacement. The change is restricted in small areas such as two or three blocks. They renovate their houses for their own sake. They can use private capital or buy houses with sweat equity as there are not mortgage funds. These new comers mostly consist of artists and design professionals who have skill and ability to make renovation for their houses (Clay, 1979).

According to Clay, in stage two of gentrification, the same type of people continues to move in and again renovates their homes for themselves. They try to get an affordable house generally vacant one. As vacant houses are limited anymore, some people are displaced. Yet Clay (1979) highlights that properties are still not expensive. Even though in stage one there was no public recognition, in stage two small scale investors and speculators may start renovation for rental or sale. Neighborhood also draws attention of media and public agencies. Adjacent buildings may be renovated, too (Clay, 1979).

Clay (1979) defines stage three as crucial because mainstream media and officials become aware about the neighborhood. There may appear small developers or a developer in the neighborhood. Urban renewal and rehabilitations may start hence there will be apparent physical improvements. Clay (1979) indicates that individual investors buy and renovate houses to use for themselves same as in stage two. However in contrast to stage two, in stage three prices start to rise rapidly. In fact, even dilapidated building prices rise. Other well maintained buildings already become a part of middle class housing stock. Clay (1979) remarks the continuing displacement in stage three. The first comers choose their house in the gentrifying neighborhood to live and express their life styles. Conversely the people who move in in stage three see their house as an investment besides a living space. Besides new comers generates a new group for themselves or start to change previous pioneer organizations. Regarding this, there starts to appear tensions between the former residents and the new residents. To avoid crime precautions are taken. Even banks become aware of the neighborhood and provide loans for middle class and investors. Clay (1979) calls third stage with significant changes correspondingly those changes explicitly indicate gentrification even by media according to him.

In stage four, Clay (1979) states that the large part of properties in the neighborhood are gentrified and middle class still move in. Also increasing number of rental units serve for single people, divorced people, or unmarried couples who do not prefer to buy a house but to live in the gentrified neighborhood. Former non-residential buildings are turning into rental or condominium units for housing demand. Even in

the presence of such demand, other neighborhoods are discovered in the city. Specialized retail and commercial activities start to appear. Last but not least, displacement strikes home owners besides renters anymore (Clay, 1979).

Clay (1979) explains that after completing four stages, following mature gentrified neighborhoods other new neighborhoods will experience the process also. In other words, after four stages it will not stop actually. As demand will continue, prices will go on increasing and people still will purchase these high price houses. Besides state and local government take a positive stand and middle class enclaves will expand day by day (Clay, 1979). Clay's stage model is observed with data from American cases such as Boston, San Francisco, and Washington D.C. (Lees, Slater & Wyly, 2008). Therefore Lees, Slater and Wyly (2008) criticize Clay's model for being very American as it is not possible to observe some features of the stages at somewhere else. Also Franz (2013) indicates that in Western and Eastern cities the gentrification process cannot be examined with these four stages of Clay. Moreover, she also highlights that current discussions reveals the inadequacy of four stages to clarify gentrification process; however, it helps to systemize the first classification of a complex process. Lees, Slater and Wyly (2008) also draw attention that Clay refers to Florida's creative class in fact before the term is coined years ago as he mentions pioneers' abilities. Also they indicate that in contrast with social mix policy ideas especially in the United Kingdom, in stage three he foresees a conflict instead of harmonious social mix (Lees, Slater & Wyly, 2008).

According to Lees, Slater and Wyly (2008), Gale also formed a gentrification stage model. The model revealed "*class and status distinctions between old and new residents*" in three gentrifying neighborhoods in Washington D.C. and focused on population change related to displacement of former working class residents by gentrifiers. Gale (1979) defined gentrifiers as double income no kids young people at late twenties or thirties with college education and often possessing graduate education, and mostly professionals or rarely managers (as cited in Lees, Slater & Wyly, 2008).

Besides Clay and Gale, in the coming years Hackworth and Smith (2001) indicate that gentrification is very different compared to gentrification between the early 1970s and late 1980s by referring the article of Lees (2000). Hence they attempt to theorize these changes by classifying different periods of gentrification processes. While theorizing the different processes of gentrification, they explain gentrification with three waves (Hackworth & Smith, 2001). They call “*sporadic gentrification*” for the first wave of gentrification. According to Hackworth and Smith (2001), in the first wave of gentrification there is a random and sporadic process just like Ruth Glass has observed in London in the 1960s. New investments are aimed for derelict houses mainly in small neighborhoods in the north eastern cities of the USA, Western Europe, and Australia. As investing in the inner city is risky, governments do not support gentrification in the first wave. The shift to productive sectors is encouraged by economic recession which set the stage for a reinvestment in the central city (Hackworth & Smith, 2001).

The second wave called “*anchoring phase*” is a process of urban and economic restructuring (Hackworth & Smith, 2001). After recession, effected markets start to recover. Gentrification can be observed in other smaller or non-global cities besides London and New York during the 1970s and 1980s. Gentrification becomes a global phenomenon. Local state encourages private markets instead of directly supporting gentrification itself in the second wave. Wider economic and cultural processes are integrated at the global and national scale (Hackworth & Smith, 2001). Struggle for displaced people becomes clear in the second wave.

Hackworth (2000) calls the final wave as “*generalized gentrification*”. In 1987 the stock market crash resulted with crisis and in 1989 housing market affected just like US economy. Correspondingly, gentrification lost acceleration in some neighborhoods. Bagli (1991) mentions “*degentrification*” witnessed in the 1990s, while Bourne (1993) states “*demise of gentrification*” related with ageing baby boom, decreasing incomes, and reduced housing stock in the inner city (as cited in Hackworth & Smith, 2001). However Hackworth and Smith (2001) assert that degentrification expectations became invalid once reinvestments started with the

third wave degentrification. Hackworth and Smith (2001) discuss that in stage three state's role is more dominant and accordingly large scale capital is more than before recession times with state support.

Four specific points differs the third wave gentrification from former waves. Firstly, in the third wave, gentrification spreads to other affected inner city neighborhoods and other distant neighborhoods. Secondly, large investors are involved in the process compared to former waves and they even lead the process. Moreover, struggle and resistance against gentrification has decreased. Last but not least, the state is also more involved and interventionist in the third stage (Hackworth and Smith, 2001). In fact, Franz (2013) asserts that the three wave model of Hackworth and Smith is not adapted to developments after 2000. In other words, it becomes restricted and inadequate to explain the new developments. Also Lees, Slater and Wyly (2008) emphasize that the model of Hackworth and Smith (2001) is outdated anymore and especially in the United States a new and distinctive fourth wave of gentrification is suggested which also points to importance of considering the geography of gentrification.

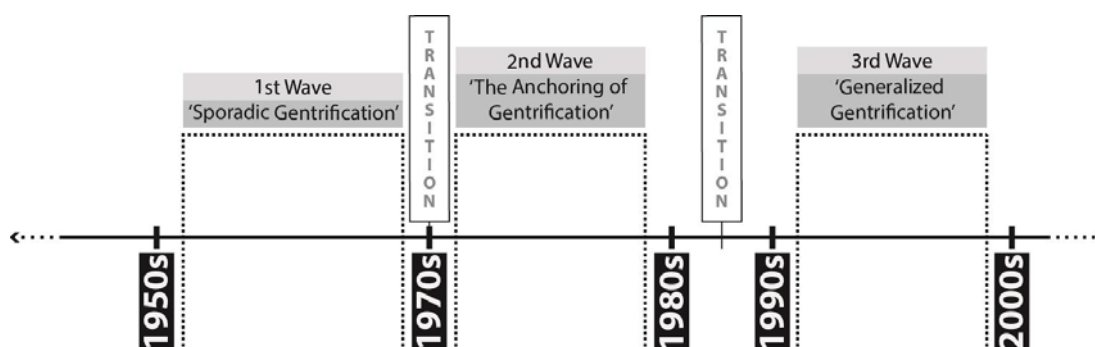


Table 2.2 Three-wave concept of gentrification

Stage models are first formulated in order to clarify the temporal variations in gentrification processes of the 1970s (Lees, Slater & Wyly, 2008). In the first stage, risk oblivious pioneers prefer inner city neighborhoods with the expectation of socially mixed living space. They afford and renovate the houses with sweat equity.

Then, risk adverse gentrifiers move into these neighborhoods. Following this, the neighborhoods attract investors and developers. This interest results in rising property prices. Ultimately the process stabilizes at an end point of mature gentrification according to the stage models (Lees, Slater & Wyly, 2008). However Rose (1984) discusses that examining gentrification with generalized stages is not so valid. She sees gentrification as a chaotic concept and thinks that there are different motives and actors. Instead of a structured process of gentrification, she detects a need for different ways to examine the gentrification process (Franz, 2013).

2.2 Causes of Gentrification: “Production Side and Consumption Side Explanations”

Many scholars discuss where, when, how and why gentrification occur via different actors and processes (Brown-Saracino, 2010). Theories behind the reasons of gentrification constitute two main different school of thought namely production-supply side and consumption-demand side. Production side theories are mainly based on economics, disinvestment and reinvestment cycles in properties. According to production side explanations, economic and political conditions lead gentrification. Mainly the deindustrialization period and rise of service sector is discussed. The rent gap theory of Neil Smith is the most influential supply side explanation of gentrification. According to Zukin (1987) economic and social factors which create an attractive housing for middle class in the center are focused in supply side explanations. On the other hand, consumption side theories are focused on consumer demand and personal preferences and mainly discuss gentrification as a social process (Brown-Saracino, 2010). Zukin (1987) asserts that demand side explanations focus on consumer preferences for demographic and cultural reasons, for gentrified buildings and areas. Rather than the effects of housing stock, economics, and state policies that are focused in production side factors, gentrification arises with gentrifiers who prefer to be involved in the gentrification process (Ley, 1986).

According to production-supply side theory, in the first decade main argument was that middle class moves in the inner city neighborhoods due to housing shortage in

suburbs (Berry, 1980; Gale, 1979, as cited in Brown-Saracino, 2010). In fact, many scholars who focus on production side theory follow Neil Smith's rent gap theory. Neil Smith (1979) argues that gentrification can be explained from the production side-supply side arguments based on classical theory of economics and he introduces a theory of "*rent gap*". With the rent gap theory, Smith claims that once there is a rent gap between the actual ground rent from its actual use and the potential ground rent that might be gained with higher or better use, gentrification comes up next. Gentrifiers and investors take advantage of this disparity between the actual ground rent and potential ground rent. When the gap is wide enough, developers buy lands or buildings cheaply. After the change in the neighborhood, they may enjoy the profits from sale price of final product. This is the capitalization of ground rent (Smith, 1979). Where this return is highest, capital moves there. Accordingly Smith (1979) asserts that gentrification is a structural product of the land and housing markets.

In his article Smith (1979) discards personal preferences and demands and advocates gentrification as a back to the city movement of capital rather than people. According to him, economic forces drive gentrification more than cultural ones. He mentions about gentrification as "*an expected product of the relatively unhampered operation of the land and housing markets*" and again focuses on the role of economic factors. He relates gentrification to productive capital returns to inner city from suburbs instead of where new residents come from. Besides Smith, Zukin (1987) also mentions early studies which rejected the movement of gentrifiers from suburbs back to the city. In fact, it is confirmed that gentrifiers are likely to come from different central neighborhoods and large metropolitans. Zukin (1987) also explains that some researches focus on gentrifiers nevertheless others may focus on the gentrified property.

Neil Smith (1979) while criticizing the theories explaining gentrification just with gentrifiers' actions remarks the role of builders, developers, landlords, mortgage lenders, government agencies, real estate agents, tenants, and so on. In other words, Smith (1979) emphasizes the importance of a broader theory of gentrification that

also considers the role of the producers as well as consumers. Smith (1979) emphasizes that it does not mean that consumer preference is passive at all. Instead, he draws attention to symbiotic relation of consumption and production in which production is dominant. However the theory of Neil Smith is criticized by some scholars after a long time and some problems of production explanations were revealed. Lees, Slater and Wyly (2008) point out rent gap theory's empirically difficult measurement and verification. They claim that both production and consumption theorists are right anyway.

In direct contrast to Smith's rent gap theory and production explanations, consumption explanations are based on lifestyles of new middle class. According to consumption explanations, the focus is on the cultural preferences and the gentrifiers who seek for cultural diversity. To begin with, after manufacturing sector lost its importance and service industry became prominent, the new middle class professionals preferred a living in central city and rejected to live in suburbs. This change of industrial and professional structure resulted in gentrification according to demand side explanations (Lees, Slater & Wyly, 2008). One of the foremost theorists of consumption explanations David Ley also discussed gentrification with regard to emergence of postindustrial cities (Lees, Slater & Wyly, 2008).

While Smith focuses on the economic side of the gentrification process; Ley (1994) emphasizes on changing social requirements instead of changing housing market structure as precursors of gentrification. He states that as economic structure has undergone a change from blue collar to white collar workforce demand, cities also has passed through a certain changes. He claims that consumer demand and preferences are must for the existence of a market and consequently gentrification is a result of gentrifiers who get involved in the process. According to Mathema (2013), gentrifiers participate in the process on the condition that cultural changes such as increasing interest in diversity and taste for historical properties are included. Ley (1994) links gentrification to expanding new middle class tastes. New white collar workers in comparison with traditional workers have different consumption patterns such as different housing location choices (Ley, 1994). Those new middle class

members seek for certain location attributes, such as diversity, a sense of history and landscape amenities (Ley, 1986). All these are the drivers and spurs of gentrification according to consumption explanations. Moreover, according to Hamnett as western cities' manufacturing centers transform into business and creative and cultural industries, gentrification arises (Ley, Slater & Wyly, 2008). This new income and occupational change result in new middle class groups who replace working class groups in inner cities. Lees, Slater and Wyly (2008) see Hamnett's and Ley's explanations quite linked.

Furthermore, Zukin (1987) criticizes that as researches on gentrification are mainly about displacement, historical preservation usage to constitute a new urban middle class, the economic rationality of the behaviors of gentrifiers; it is problematic to extend the framework of the term beyond demographic factors and neo-classical land use theory as there are conceptual or methodological disagreements. Zukin (1987) adds that economic and cultural analyses are integrated in emerging syntheses in the field. Zukin (1987) asserts that many analyses of gentrification discourse noneconomic factors. For instance social solidarity is specified by residential clustering of highly singular social groups such as gay householders who create a majority of residents in gentrifying neighborhoods. On the other hand, other main analyses of gentrification embrace economic restructuring secondary to demographic for instance life style and life cycle factors which cause demand for new residential types (Zukin, 1987). Similarly, Lees, Slater and Wyly (2008) criticize consumption explanations as the focus on middle class gentrifiers' practices ignores other negative effects of the process by distraction. While focusing on middle class gentrifiers, consumption explanations do not take notice of other many groups. Lees, Slater and Wyly (2008) criticize that the experiences of non-gentrifying groups in the same neighborhoods are not included. Consumption explanations segregate economic trajectory of the neighborhoods while conceptualizing the gentrification process with the changes in society (Lees, Slater & Wyly, 2008).

In fact, also Hamnett (1991) later criticizes the discussions based on either consumption side or production side. He suggests an integrated gentrification theory

(as cited in Mathema, 2013). Hamnett (1991) asserts that as there appear both social composition changes and housing stock changes after the gentrification process, a comprehensive approach is needed. As well as Hamnett, Zukin (1987) also claims that further researches by analyzing urban morphology by means of economic and cultural issues may overcome the disagreements. Furthermore, Clark (2005) criticizes the efforts distinguishing production and consumption theories. He thinks that neither side is comprehensible without the other. In fact, currently the division between production-supply side and consumption-demand side theories are not as firm as before. Many agree that both production side and consumption side elements enable gentrification. Zukin (1987) asserts that with conceptual disagreements there will be deadlock in the literature. Therefore both theories can be seen as complementary to each other in order to explain the reasons of gentrification.

	Glass	1970	The emergence of a new gentry: The displacement of working class by the middle class in central London // "residential aspects"
supply vs. demand explanations <i>contrary</i>	Smith	1979	Supply side explanations: "rent gap" mismatch between capitalized ground rent of a plot of land given its present use & the potential ground rent that might be gained from better use
	Ley	1981 - 1994	Demand side explanations: Changing 'societal needs' rather than the structural changes in the housing market // shift of traditional workers to the new white collar work force with different consumption patterns & housing preferences
	Zukin	1987	A process of spatial & social differentiation in terms of economic and cultural analysis
	Hamnett	1991	Call for an integrated theory of gentrification // concentrate on not only consumption side but also production side
stage models	Clay	1979	One of the first foremost stage model of gentrification with four stages
	Hackworth & Smith	2001	Classifying different periods of gentrification process with three waves of gentrification // gentrification is very different compared to gentrification in the 1970s and 1980s
	Clark	2005	Classical gentrification definition is limited and inappropriate in other places // broader and more inclusive definition

Table 2.3 The major debates on gentrification

2.3 Where Gentrification Occurs?

The arguments about where gentrification occurs also can be divided according to production side theories or consumption side theories. Neil Smith (1979) within the frame of production side theory proposes that gentrification arises in neighborhoods where a wide disparity between the actual rent and potential rent is available. On the other hand, Ley (1986) suggests that neighborhoods or cities close to affluent areas experience gentrification. According to Brown-Saracino (2010) other scholars (Wyly, 1998; Berry, 1985) proposes that where revitalization is encouraged by constituting an employment opportunities via politicians and planners gentrification is near future there. It is also possible by donating or selling land or buildings on the private market for redevelopment (Logan & Molotch, 1987 as cited in Brown-Saracino, 2010).

Within the frame of consumption side theories, basic explanation suggests that gentrification occurs where appealing amenities attract gentrifiers. According to Brown-Saracino (2010) these amenities consist of social diversity, landscape amenities for instance water views, closeness to the central jobs, bike routes or historical properties (Ley, 1986). Brown- Saracino (2010) also points out that due to technological changes people may prefer to live in places with amenities such as historical authenticity or closeness to outdoor leisure activities instead of employment centers.

While the process refers to the rehabilitation of residential neighborhoods of working class, Clark (2005) indicates that gentrification is not just an inner city process and does not take place in residential areas only. There are examples of gentrification in rural areas and in non-residential areas. Also he emphasizes on gentrification of waterfronts for instance. Moreover, although gentrification is expected to take place in neighborhoods of working class residents, it may emerge in neighborhoods of upper classes and existing old residents according to him.

2.4 Who are the Gentrifiers?

First of all, Ley (1996) categorizes gentrifiers into two groups namely pioneers and followers. Pioneers prefer inner city neighborhoods related to historical and physical advantages of the area. Pioneers are described as highly-educated young people with low income who are risk-oblivious (Blasius, Friedrichs & Rühl, 2015). They are mostly singles or couples with no children (Ley, 1996). As they have limited income, they look for affordable and cheap accommodations in the city center with the proximity to the cultural amenities. Pioneers are mostly comprised of artists and academicians. On the other hand, Ley (1996) defines followers as people with better income and mostly elder than pioneers. They are also more risk adverse. Followers can be single or two income couples. They move into the area after the pioneers. They seek for both livable property and investment opportunity. After their movement the property prices start to increase visibly. Their movement may even result with the displacement of pioneers (Ley, 1996). According to Ley (1996), the cultural middle class who are professionals in the arts, the media, and teaching and social services heavily constitutes gentrifiers. Furthermore, Zukin (1993) mentions about well-educated upper and middle class people who prefer the inner city for social, aesthetic and its clustering qualities. They tend to prefer properties with high architectural values.

As according to Zukin (1987) gentrification corresponds to a movement from child centered suburbs to diverse and aesthetic city life, gentrifiers also are not like other middle class people. Their housing preferences, amenities around them, their socio-demographic structure such as high educational and occupational represent a characteristic habitus. According to Zukin (1987), gentrifiers expect to approach each other until familiarity and their neighborhood choice does not indicate social integration with current residents with different socio-economic status, ethnicity and race. Under these circumstances, existing residents also do not hold with this “*alien culture*” in which signals of change in their community and different consumption types exist (Zukin, 1987). In gentrifying neighborhoods both pre-gentrification residents and gentrifiers have different interest. First of all, existing residents show lower social class consumption patterns besides different ethnic and racial group and

older ages. They eliminate new developments in their living space. They mostly face with rising property prices and their own displacement at the end. On the other side, renter gentrifiers may have even lower incomes than homeowners. The other gentrifiers who have their own houses may have difficulties while landlords expecting higher rents and existing residents expecting to keep the neighborhood affordable, socially diverse, and modest (McDonald, 1983 as cited in Zukin, 1987). The community organizations pretend to be precursors of bourgeoisies while fighting for social and cultural homogeneity.

According to Zukin (1987), the analysis areas of gentrification can be categorized into four key points in terms of gentrifiers. Firstly, the tastes of gentrifiers depend to the existence of affordable older buildings. Gentrifiers look for old looking building styles. They have taste of brownstone, red brick or gingerbread houses besides lofts that are transformed to residential use (Zukin, 1982). They also give importance to form new consumption patterns of middle class. They also search for diverse amenities in their living space that provide social and cultural experiences. Secondly, more homogenized gentrifiers replace the relatively heterogeneous existing residents. Once they move in even the deteriorated building prices start rising so their non-wealthy neighbors are exposed to rising property taxes, too. Also the quantity of low price rentals decreases. Single room occupancy hotels for daily or monthly hiring are vivid victims (Kasinitz, 1983 as cited in Zukin, 1987). At the end, low income residents are forced to leave even farther from central business district. Thirdly, pioneers or risk oblivious gentrifiers are sensible to the housing investment rationality. They take defensive actions against the housing market and the inflation effects to prevent losses. Early comers find an affordable housing in the market (Zukin, 1987). Buying a property in gentrifying neighborhood may depend on different priorities. For instance, gentrifiers may choose the area to benefit from the rent gap. This behavior overlaps with locational choices actually. Also, they may provide the conditions for their social reproduction (Rose, 1984 as cited in Zukin, 1987). Also, single mothers for example to get a foothold in housing market may purchase houses in low price near support services. Similarly, unemployed or informally employed workers especially in the creative and performing arts may

choose gentrified inner city neighborhoods in an attempt to easily access to information, training, and markets for their work (Zukin, 1987). In fact, Zukin (1987) mentions gentrification as a white collar residential style.

2.5 The Consequences of Gentrification

Gentrification is not an invisible process. The transformation of both physical and social features of a neighborhood can be perceived in the different stages of gentrification (Clay, 1979). First of all according to Brown-Saracino (2010), gentrification has noticeable outcomes. For instance, the commercial establishments according to new middle classes' preferences, renovated or new condominium houses, artists and their galleries enable to identify the tracks of gentrification. A neighborhood undergoes certain changes while gentrifying such as rising property costs, changing demographic characteristics, shifts in local policies, and tension over norms about using public space. In other words, displacement, social tension, the privatization of the public space, and the physical transformation of building stocks are effects of gentrification.

There are contrary debates on gentrification's outcomes. Many argue that gentrification causes the displacement of longtime residents (Sumka, 1979; Atkinson, 2002 as cited in Brown-Saracino, 2010). The debates are mostly between the ones who believe that gentrification serves to public interest and the ones who argue that such interests are not affordable for longtime residents (Brown-Saracino, 2010). Nevertheless according to Florida (2004) central city neighborhoods gain crucial economic, cultural, social and institutional resources via gentrification. Also they suggest that gentrification is beneficial not only for gentrifiers but also for longtime residents who benefits from the institutions that gentrifiers help to develop. On the contrary, gentrification harms the longtime residents' social networks and mostly leads to loss of housing and business closure. Ultimately just a small part of longtime residents can be able to afford living in the gentrified neighborhood in order to take advantage of the developments in the neighborhood (Brown-Saracino, 2010). Gentrification is an opportunity to attract "*creative class*" members for cities in order

to boost urban economies. But it may cause neighborhoods to become unaffordable or unattractive for creative class in advance levels (Florida 2004).

According to Brown-Saracino (2010), gentrification may result in some positive consequences. One of the important outcomes of gentrification is the transformation of economically depressed areas by middle classes' arrival to the area. Transformations occur with the gentrification cause the influx of creative class to the neighborhood. Thus they encourage economic growth (Atkinson & Easthope, 2009 as cited in Brown-Saracino, 2010). Therewithal increasing tax revenues, introducing or rehabilitating cultural and social amenities, and restoring historical properties are the results of gentrification which cause transformation in turn. Also new job opportunities appear and crime rates decrease as a result of this transforming physical and social environment (Brown-Saracino, 2010). New comers with the high cultural, social, and financial level improve neighborhood's institutions which serve to all residents (Freeman, 2006). Gentrification of a neighborhood has an impact not only in the gentrified neighborhood but also in the city scale. Gentrifiers benefit from gentrification in its early stages by getting affordable accommodation, lifestyle amenities, and proximity to work. On the other hand, gentrification does not benefit longtime residents. Also the "*benefits*" of gentrification mostly harm longtime residents such as sense of safety. It can cause harassment of poor and working class residents. Nevertheless longtime residents hope to benefit from gentrification, because the amenities for creative class can be shared by all (Freeman, 2006).

The success of gentrification can be evaluated via rising property values and arrival of affluent professionals to the neighborhood. On the other hand, these are so to say disasters for the longtime residents due to lying behind physical displacement and disruption of longstanding ties and homelessness. It is a mistake to measure the gentrification's consequences purely in economic and demographic terms (Levy & Cyriwsky, 1980). Gentrification causes loss of local power and influence for longtime residents. They come across with loss of control on their neighbor and this happens when gentrification reconfigures a neighborhood's ethnic and social structure (Brown-Saracino, 2010). In fact, the consequences of gentrification vary

from city to city depending on public policies. Also the residents who get harmed by these consequences have different experiences varies in accordance with their demographic characteristics. The groups with lowest income, such as ethnic minorities, poor and elderly people take the hardest strike from gentrification's consequences (Atkinson, 2002 as cited in Brown-Saracino, 2010).

2.6 New Debates on Gentrification

Gentrification has integrated into wider global and urban processes after the 1980s. It has become a widespread issue around the world (Smith, 1998). As urban economies underwent a serious change after the dramatic loss of manufacturing jobs, with the expansion of professional employment gentrification has also undergone a vital transition (Smith, 1998). Gentrification has gone global and it is no longer restricted to Anglo-American cities but instead it has become a generalized strategy in many other countries all around the world (Smith, 2002). Similarly Atkinson and Bridge (2005) assert that gentrification has also emerged in the global south such as China, India, Pakistan, South America, and South Africa and the urban hierarchies in the global north have been cascaded down. Moreover, Lees (2000, p. 397) states that *“gentrification today is quite different from gentrification in the early 1970s, late 1980s, and even the early 1990s”*.

Similarly, Clark (2005) asserts that gentrification is now global and the geographic foci of gentrification research have expanded. In other words, gentrification process has mutated over time (Lees, Slater & Wyly, 2008). In order to describe the “new” gentrification processes, scholars have brought new definitions up. While on the demand side super-gentrification, studentification, and consumption gentrification take place (Franz, 2013); on the supply side rural gentrification, new-build gentrification, and tourism gentrification take place.

To begin with the supply side, according to Lees, Slater and Wyly (2008), rural gentrification which recently has been called as greentrification resembles to urban gentrification but instead in “green” residential areas. Moreover, Franz (2013)

embraces rural gentrification from the view point of demand side explanations. She states that as a result of displacement of existing rural residents by new rural gentrifiers the socio-demographic structure of the rural community undergoes a change. She notes that basic difference between urban and rural gentrifier is their life style preferences. Secondly, new build gentrification refers to newly built housing stock related to expanding gentrification process. However Lees, Slater and Wyly (2008) take attention that new build gentrification is not accepted by all scholars instead some accept new developments as re-urbanization. Thirdly, tourism gentrification is defined as the transformation of a neighborhood into “*a relatively affluent and exclusive enclave*” due to tourism and entertainment venues. Consumer demands and tastes accelerate gentrification (Gotham, 2005 as cited in Lees, Slater & Wyly, 2008).

On the other hand, according to demand side explanations, commercial gentrification means gentrification of commercial areas according to gentrifiers’ tastes instead of residential transformation. According to consumption gentrification which is also known as boutiqueification, priority is the consumer preferences and demands (Lees, Slater & Wyly, 2008). Secondly, super gentrification in other words financification is explained as a further level of gentrification on an already gentrified neighborhood by Lees (2000). Compared to former gentrification waves, super gentrified neighborhood has higher economic and financial reinvestments (Lees, Slater & Wyly, 2008). Thirdly, studentification termed by Darren Smith (2002) is used to refer to social, environmental, economic, and physical changes affected by high education students settling in distinct areas of the cities. Studentifiers are resembled to gentrifiers but future ones by Darren Smith (2002); therefore, he mentions about studentification as a gentrification factory.

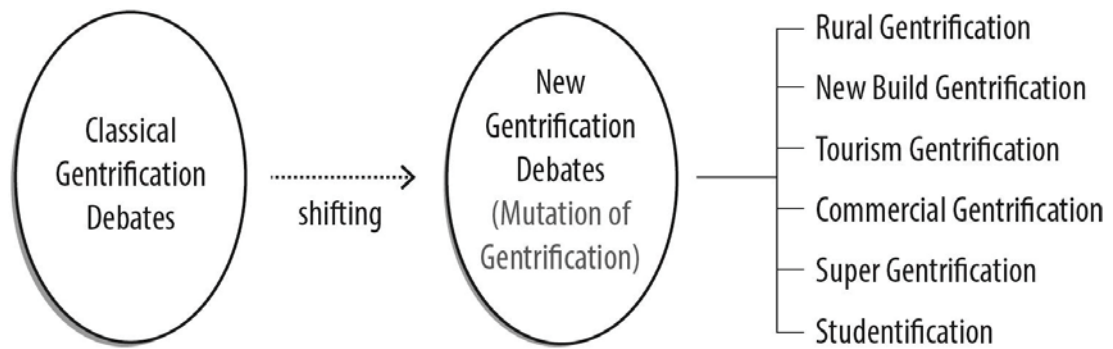


Table 2.4 The shift of gentrification

To sum up, gentrification has mutated into a number of different new types in time. It has shifted from its classical form which was coined in 1964 by Ruth Glass and new debates have emerged in the literature. Therefore examining gentrification with the factors of classical gentrification is not rational anymore. Also Lees, Slater and Wyly (2008) point to a shift to a broader and opener definition of gentrification. Moreover, rather than discussing gentrification in a way it is commonly found in the literature Clark (2005) looks also for a broader definition of gentrification. According to him, former definitions make gentrification more chaotic so more inclusive perspective is needed. Gentrification is not a single common process instead it is multicenter process anymore. Therefore it is important to focus on new discussions and new geographies of gentrification by eluding Anglo-American perspectives (Lees, 2012). In this sense, as the thesis aims to investigate new gentrification processes and re-conceptualize the gentrification process, it is important to examine three relatively new terms in which new actors arise.

2.6.1 Super Gentrification

Loretta Lees (2003, p. 2487) discusses a different phenomenon “*super-gentrification*” which means “*the transformation of already gentrified upper-middle class neighborhoods into much more exclusive and affluent places*”. The reason she suggests a different type of gentrification is to correlate gentrification and

globalization. According to Franz (2013), super gentrification as a new form of gentrification enables to see the relationship between global factors and local impact. Lees (2003) represents a challenge to traditional and classical gentrification explanations with super gentrification as she believes that gentrification is not the same with the gentrification in 1964 and even in 1970s, 1980s, and 1990s. Therefore Lees defines a new generation of super gentrifiers in other words “*financifiers*” (Franz, 2013).

In order to understand the impact of super gentrification, Lees (2003) examines a story of four-storey brownstone house in Brooklyn Heights, NY. Firstly, once gentrification emerged in Brooklyn Heights around the 1960s, a young lawyer bought the subject brownstone house in 1962. He had limited resources and the building was relatively affordable for him as the prices were still inexpensive. He renovated the building with sweat equity. According to Lees (2003), this first period is similar to the gentrification definition as described by Glass (1964). It is also possible to say that the first comer is similar to Ley’s (1996) pioneers as he was young professional who could afford the house with sweat equity barely. However after a while they had children and related to family circumstances they decided to sell the property. Then in 1995, he could sell his property for 23 times more than what he paid for it 30 years ago (Lees, 2003). An English broker woman working in Wall Street could easily afford the property and even wrote a personal cheque for the full amount as Lees (2003) indicates. The process after 1995, actually illustrates the new process which is called super-gentrification by Lees (2003). The next door neighbor told that the second owner spent the amount of a house only for the renovations and their lifestyles were also quite different. It can be said that the second owner is much more similar to gentrifier definition of Ley (1996). Once the owner had twins, they also sold the house after a year related to family circumstances. Third owner who was a computer folk paid 3 times more than what second owner paid a year ago for the property. Therefore it can be said that, the third comer is exactly the super-gentrifier which is defined by Lees (2003).

According to Lees (2003), super gentrification represents the shift of gentrification into top gear related to economic boom. As Smith (2002) asserts that gentrification is a global strategy, Lees (2003) provides a “*concrete relationship*” between global economic and urban-scale processes with the case of super gentrification. The term also challenges classical gentrification models by claiming intensifying economic valorizations of already gentrified neighborhoods (Lees, 2003). Although early stage models explain the gentrification process with a stable final stage, Lees (2003) considers these assumptions invalid. Conversely super gentrification reveals the possibility of re-gentrification of already gentrified neighborhoods (Franz, 2013).

2.6.2 Studentification

While new forms of gentrification are emerging such as super gentrification; as being a newly emerging gentrification process the term studentification also has to be discussed which elaborates a new group of future gentrifiers namely studentifiers. Darren Smith (2005, p. 73) coins the term studentification which considers “*the residential concentration of higher education (university) students in distinct neighborhoods of university cities*”. He actually studies on how gentrification and studentification overlaps. Smith (2005) studies on the temporal life courses of gentrifiers to their formative years and examines their cultural and residential preferences over time.

First of all, as a result of studentification, there appear economic, social, cultural, and physical transformations in the area (Smith, 2005). According to the economic dimension, studentification results in the increase of property prices. The single-family houses are offered for studentifiers in the market. Moreover, apartment-sharing in other words “*shared student housings*” can be the other option for studentifiers. The new housing restructuring increases the private rented housing rate besides decreasing the rate of house ownership (Smith, 2005). According to the social dimension, as studentifiers with young and single and middle class social characteristics invade the neighborhoods, established residents may be displaced. There emerge new social concentrations relatedly (Smith, 2005). According to the

cultural dimension, young students come together and form a shared culture and lifestyle, and consumption preferences. They may shape their own personal networks. Even the commercial venues in the neighborhood start to transform related to preferences of high education students (Smith, 2005). Lastly according to the physical dimension, physical environment either upgrades related to properties converted to student houses or downgrades subject to the local contexts (Smith, 2005).

Furthermore, the studentification process differs from the process of gentrification. Mostly small scale property owners and investors first recognize an opportunity in order to maximize their profits in the neighborhoods which are close to the universities. Gentrification emerges at that point. Therefore those small scale investors and property owners can be resembled to pioneers as they are leading university students and implicitly gentrification. In some cases, just like traditional pioneers students may also prefer a distinct location before the investments are made (Smith, 2005). Moreover, the habits of traditional gentrifiers and studentifiers may differ in certain points. First of all, studentifiers in contrast to traditional gentrifiers are periodical residents who actually reside for the duration of academic year or period of study in other words they are mostly temporary residents. Also they consume already produced gentrified commodities and do not take part in production based activities. Smith (2005) asserts that the latter gentrifiers utilize high levels of economic capital in order to capture the cultural capital of gentrification. Along with the differences, Smith (2005) indicates that studentifiers and pioneer gentrifiers resemble related to economic reasons such as low economic levels, low participation to production activities, and constrained position in the housing market. Studentifiers are comprised of transient individuals who are single and childless young adults at their early life courses with limited economic source. They try to find a temporary accommodation; however, some of them may prefer to remain in the neighborhood after the graduation. According to Smith (2005), rather than cheaper rental houses in neighborhoods which are not student ghettos, studentifiers prefer distinct student ghettos because of student lifestyle and student identity of those areas. Also, it can be said that they look for a neighborhood which provides a distinct lifestyle and social

groups mostly comprised of university students. According to Smith (2005), this is viewed as the expression of the habitus of students. Studentifiers have a tendency to look for a membership of student groupings and have social interactions (Smith, 2005). In fact, all these demonstrate the overlap between gentrifiers and studentifiers. As a matter of the fact that studentification may cause to displacement of established residents and also gentrifiers. On the other hand, some established residents may also move from the neighborhood voluntarily because of practices and attitudes of university students who are seen as anti-social by established residents. In fact, conversely university students define local residents as “*unwelcoming, anti-student, and intimidating*” (Smith, 2005).

Smith (2005) also searches the production of potential studentifiers by taking the social, cultural, and economic restructuring of society. New occupational structures, changing competitive cities and even the role of the state increase the role of higher education. Hence more people expect to get a higher education and in fact in the long run, the demand for student accommodation increases. Once there is not a balance between the supply and demand for student accommodation, students may have to enter into the private rented housing market. Actually the private rented sector will close that gap (Smith, 2005). Smith (2005) also indicates that studentified areas have often architectural aesthetics and gentrification styles and actually already gentrified neighborhoods or neighborhoods that are adjacent to gentrified neighborhoods provide opportunity to the process of studentification. However he also emphasizes that studentification is not limited with inner city areas; on the contrary it may occur in suburban areas which are well connected to university campuses.

According to Smith (2005), studentifiers can be defined as potential future gentrifiers or trainee gentrifiers. Relatedly, locations that are subjected to studentification become a training area for university students and those locations can be defined as a gentrification factory. As university students have distinct socio-cultural practices besides consumption preferences, new gentrification expressions can be influenced by studentifiers. In fact, since studentifiers are defined as future gentrifiers, they may influence the future forms of gentrification.

2.6.3 Creative Class

Although the creative class does not seem to be connected to gentrification at first sight, as it comes up with a new form of middle class in recent discussions it is important to discuss the creative class of Richard Florida. Florida (2004) defines creative class as people in science and engineering, architecture and design, education, arts, music, and entertainment who actually come up with creative new ideas and contents.

Florida (2004) defines creative class as an economic class and argues that its economic function both underpins and informs its member's social, cultural, and lifestyle choices. The creative class consists of people who add economic value through their creativity. There are three different groups constituting the creative class of Florida (2004) which are bohemians dealing with artistic creativity (artists, designers, and writers), groups with technical creativity (researchers and engineers), and the professionals with administrative creativity (executives, financial, communication sector employees, and lawyers). The first group has different contributions to the economy while they are few in number. They have specialized preferences so they serve as a model for other creative class groups. Contribution of bohemians to economic development is different compared to other creative groups. On the other hand, even though the third group constitutes the biggest part, second group has the greatest contribution to economy compared to the professionals and have the highest skills (Florida, 2004).

According to Scott (2014), along with the social shifts, there have appeared important rearrangements in urban spaces such as revitalization of distinct areas. While one of them is upgrading of deteriorated residential areas in inner city areas, other is the redevelopment of commercial and business districts which is accompanied by major investments in cultural and entertainment venues such as art galleries, museums, and music venues. Scott (2014) relates both of them to gentrification. As a result of decline in manufacturing industries, occupational structure shifts to financial, media, fashion, and entertainment sectors. Scott (2014) indicates that the emerging stage of gentrification is led by artists and bohemians

who move to deteriorated working class neighborhoods. Later, middle class gentrifiers follow them, move in, and renovate the properties which also results in increasing property values and relatedly the displacement of established low income residents (Scott, 2014). As a result, those gentrified inner city areas become dominated by “*creative workers with demographic profiles like young professional families, cohabiting couples, people in same sex unions, apartment sharers, metrosexual singles, and so on*” (Scott, 2014, p. 572). In fact, it is the formation of socio-spatial segmentations. In a nutshell, Scott (2014) highlights that creative city approaches accelerate the gentrification processes which in the long run result in displacement of low income established residents by the new creative groups.

In relation to that, Florida (2004) emphasizes on why those creative classes cluster in certain places. According to him, creative class has different housing preferences, work motivations, specialized consumption patterns. They prefer distinct places and neighborhoods to live for instance they move away from traditional corporate communities and working class centers. Secondly, the physical attractions such as stadiums, urban malls, and tourism and entertainment districts similar to theme parks are unattractive for them. They actually look for high quality amenities and experiences, openness to diversity of all kinds, and the opportunity to validate their identities as creative people. Thirdly, the creative centers are not thriving related to traditional economic reasons as access to natural resources or transportation routes; they are thriving because creative people prefer to live there (Florida, 2004). To widen the reasons why creative people cluster in certain places, Florida (2004) discusses different reasons such as lifestyle, social interaction, diversity, authenticity, and quality of place.

Lifestyle

Florida (2004, p. 224) comes across “*many people who move somewhere for the lifestyle and then set out to look for employment there*”. These workers have quality of life demands and they enjoy acting like tourists on their own cities. In other words, they live their life as an experience. They value experiential nightlife options such as interesting music venues, neighborhoods’ art galleries, performance spaces, and

theaters (Florida, 2004). They are mostly night partyers and have desire in urban nightlife. Florida (2004) observes that they prefer late night dining, jazz and music clubs, and coffee shops rather than bars and dance clubs. Nightlife plays a role in their living space as a result.

Social Interactions

Third places differently from home or work are venues like coffee shops, cafés, and book stores. According to Florida (2004), third places have the key importance for social interactions for creative class. He observes that people hang out in third places simply “*for good company and lively conversations*”. They put emphasis on social interactions too much. He finds out that walking down the street and meeting with people and then heading to the café to meet with associates is a routine for them (Florida, 2004).

Diversity

The differences such as different ethnic groups and races, different ages, different sexual orientations, and alternative appearances such as tattoos and piercings are quite important in terms of diversity for creative groups. They mainly look for open and diverse spaces, and open mindedness is quite important. Florida (2004) asserts that a visible gay community is a must for them besides people from different ethnic groups. Actually, a diverse community means that a place is open to outsiders and it is open and tolerant. For instance, a place with a visible gay presence would welcome anybody from the outside (Florida, 2004). Those places also mean safety and sense of community for creative class. Even women claim that they feel safer in gay tolerant neighborhoods according to Florida’s interviews. Moreover, Florida (2004) states that an attractive place has to be cosmopolitan rather than being big. Each resident has a chance to find a peer group to be comfortable and another group which provides interplay of cultures and ideas. As cited in Florida (2004) Kahn indicates two hallmarks for a great city; tolerance for strangers and intolerance for mediocrity. In brief, creative people are attracted to places that have the features of

diversity, openness and tolerance which are measured by the gay index and bohemian index by Florida (2004).

Authenticity

According to Florida (2004), authenticity arises with several aspects of community such as historic buildings, established neighborhoods, a unique music scene or specific cultural attributes. Authentic and unique places are very valuable because they also enable original experiences. Florida (2004) indicates that chain markets, chain restaurants, or night clubs are not authentic, as they look pretty much the same everywhere. They actually offer the same experience but nothing different. Authenticity is equal to being real for creative class.

Quality of Place

Florida (2004, p. 232) explains “*quality of place*” with three dimensions which are:

[W]hat is there (the combination of the built environment and natural environment), who is there (the diverse kinds of people, interacting and providing cues that anyone can plug into and make a life in that community), and what is going on (the vibrancy of street life, café culture, arts, music and people engaging in outdoor activities). (Florida, 2004, p. 232)

According to Florida (2004), quality of place is comprised of several aspects rather than occurring automatically. The quality of place consists of experiences and instead of providing one single thing there are different options for different groups of people at different life stages in the quality of place (Florida, 2004).

Florida (2004) gives an example of the sociologist Richard Lloyd’s description about a neighborhood in Chicago. Wicker Park was a low-income neighborhood in the 1980s with majorly immigrant habitants. The crime rate was high and the buildings were neglected and dilapidated. After the Coyote Festival around the neighborhood, the area awakened young artists’ interest and at the end the interest of those groups transformed the image of Wicker Park from a declined neighborhood to a privileged area (Florida, 2004). Actually the process that Wicker Park has experienced fits with gentrification process perfectly.

Technology, Talent, and Tolerance: 3T's of Economic Development

According to Florida's creative capital theory, talent, technology, and tolerance are the three important factors to attract the creative class (3Ts). It is vital for the economic growth of a region that it promotes tolerance via embracing new ideas and cultural diversity, giving emphasis on creativity, and producing value out of differences. In fact, what creative people look for is a place that is diverse, tolerant, and open to new ideas. According to Florida (2004), in such area diversity and concentration work together which in turn accelerates the flow of knowledge. In addition, being able to provide a high quality of life to a creative class and providing more diverse concentrations result with higher rates of innovation and relatedly economic growth (Florida, 2004).

2.7 Re-conceptualizing the Gentrification

Gentrification has been a much discussed term since Ruth Glass coined the term in 1964. The term has been shifting into new geographies and as mentioned before it is no longer limited to western metropolises. It is now a global issue around the world (Smith, 1998; Smith, 2002; Atkinson & Bridge, 2005; Clark, 2005; Lees, 2000). Therefore Atkinson and Bridge (2005) discuss that gentrification has to be examined in the context of globalization. However Lees, Slater and Wyly (2008) point out that gentrification barely has been paired with globalization. Actually one of the studies of Rofo (2003) emphasizes on the reading of gentrification and globalization together and he resembles gentrifying class to an emergent elite global community in his study (as cited in Lees, Slater & Wyly, 2008). While studying on gentrification and globalization, he finds out that there is a similarity between the transnational elite and the gentrifying class. He indicates that both are consisted of highly educated affluent professionals who are employed in high status white collar professions. However while transnational elites are interested in global expansion, gentrifying people emphasize on the inner city where they prefer to live (Rofo, 2003). However Atkinson and Bridge (2005) mention the complexity of globalization and argues that there is no attempt in the globalization literature at the level of the neighborhood

whereas gentrification deals in the context of neighborhood changes. They indicate that it is significant to recognize that neighborhood scales are important locus of concentrations of professionals and managerial groups (Atkinson & Bridge, 2005).

Differently from Rofe (2003), the study of Butler and Lees (2006) focuses on the relationship between gentrification and globalization at the neighborhood level in Barnsbury, London. Although globalization literature focuses on cosmopolitanism, dislocation, flow, hyper mobility, transnationalism, and unfixity, they find out super gentrifiers as a part of new global elite do not have those features. They actually do not jet around the world and they are comparatively immobile. Rather they are fixed in distinct neighborhoods and create their personal micro networks in there. They socialize and live with their own networks and cohorts. They work in a contact intensive subculture where face to face communication is quite significant (Butler & Lees, 2006). They actually try to form a global identity at the neighborhood level. Similarly, Atkinson and Bridge (2005) indicate that residential class is shaped by gentrifiers with whom they share an identity shaped by locational preferences, occupation, and a social network that crosses national boundaries. Correspondingly Butler and Lees (2006) reveal a difference between the global elite and globally mobile managers and professionals in other words super gentrifiers who carry out their global finance from their fixed locations and neighborhoods.

At this point, it is important to investigate how these new super gentrifier groups and former residents in the neighborhoods cooperate or whether they cooperate or not. Socially mix place involves the movement of these middle upper classes into working class areas (Lees, Slater & Wyly, 2008). Socially mix community is expected to be also a socially balanced. Former gentrification debates handled with the same appeals to diversity, difference, and social mixing which found in the discussions of gentrification as a positive public policy tool (Lees, Slater & Wyly, 2008, p. 207). In order to understand the interrelations between these new super gentrifier groups and their appropriation of place and space, Lees, Slater and Wyly (2008) refer to two concepts which are revanchist and emancipatory spaces. The revanchist city concept which was coined by Neil Smith (1996) mentions about the

revenge of middle class by taking over neighborhoods in the inner city from former working class residents. This results in social tensions instead of social interactions between the two groups. On the other hand, the emancipatory city thesis has a more positive stance. After the gentrification processes there comes up social interactions between old and new groups and the neighborhood becomes an emancipatory space for both group.

According to Canadian sociologist Jon Caulfield (1989), gentrification provides an opportunity for social interaction, cultural diversity, and tolerance. It offers a liberating experience for gentrifiers together with the “*others*” and constitutes new conditions for new experiences. In other words, the inner city becomes a meeting place with the other (Caulfield, 1989). With reference to the analysis of Caulfield (1994) in Toronto, Canada, the inner city is seen as an emancipatory space and relatedly gentrification is seen as a critical social practice (Lees, 2000). According to Caulfield (1994), gentrification creates tolerance and old inner city places enable the diversity of gentrifiers. For instance, Caulfield (1989, p. 618) indicates that “*gays may be lawyers or paperhangers, professors may live in shabby bungalows or upmarket townhomes, feminists may or may not have children*”.

On the other hand, Lees (2000) approaches critically to the emancipatory city thesis of Caulfield. She questions whether there is a necessary link between the social diversity and the new uses of old buildings in inner cities. Also Lees mentions about other scholars with contrary discussions. For instance, Young (1991) argues the interaction of strangers as very disinterested. On the other hand, Merry (1981) argues that those places are seen as threatening rather than liberating (as cited in Lees, 2000). Also Zukin (1995) discusses that those tensions and anxieties lead to increase of private police forces and gated communities. According to Lees (2000), Caulfield obscures that gentrifiers and anti-gentrification groups like established working class residents and ethnic minorities do not think in the same way always. In other words, gentrifiers and established old residents may have tensions. Lees (2000) asserts that due to the different cultural backgrounds old residents may not tolerate to new groups with liberal values. Therefore gentrified places may be emancipatory places

but not for all the residents but for a distinct group. In fact, the new middle class try to create a new, sophisticated, less conservative urban environment (Lees, 2000). Hence it is important to investigate if social mix and gentrification is really emancipatory for both the new groups with distinct characteristics and established residents in already gentrified neighborhoods.

2.8 Concluding Notes

2.8.1 New Gentrification Processes

The actors involved in the gentrification process are segregated by scholars differently. While some actors are defined as the precursors of the process such as pioneers or gentrifiers; others are defined as victims such as displaced residents. Also some studies focus on the other actors involved in the process such as investors, policy makers, urban planners, and so on (Blasius, Friedrichs & Rühl, 2015). Moreover in gentrification studies, gentrifiers are also defined diversely and there are many different descriptions of gentrifiers. Some define gentrifiers according to the tendency to accept financial risk and attitudes; some define according to age, income, occupation, and education level. Some define them according to their creativity levels, while some define according to year of settlement to the area. In fact, recent studies emphasize the need for a more nuanced understanding of gentrifying actors and their role in the neighborhood transformation processes. It is important to cover different approaches in the gentrification literature.

Once Ruth Glass coined the term gentrification in 1964, there actually appeared a debate on class and status. While she was defining the term as a process in which “*working class quarters of London that have been invaded by the middle classes*”, she also defined two social groups; working class and middle class (Glass, 1964). As a result of new gentrification debates, also new socio-demographic categorizations are constituted by different scholars. New groups are evolving as a result of new modes of gentrification. In fact, each scholar considers gentrifiers from a different angle and suggests a new typology for social groups.

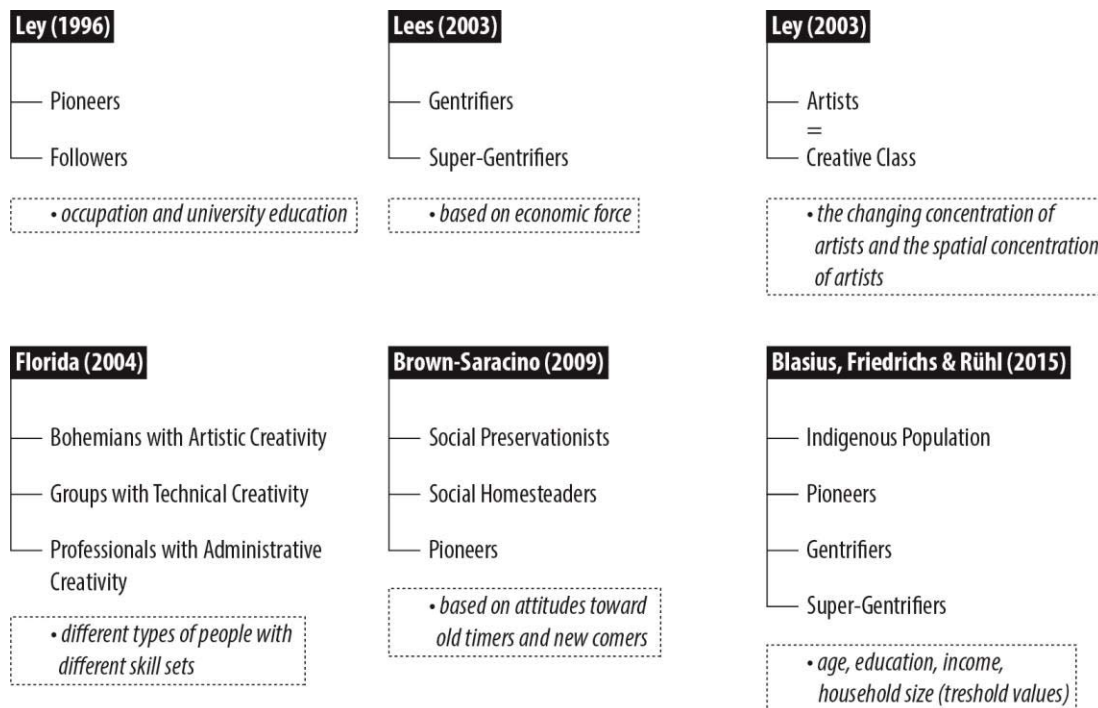


Table 2.5 The typology of social groups

First of all, on the supply side actors are defined as land owners, residential buildings' owners, investors, real estate agents, national and local governments (Blasius, Friedrichs & Rühl, 2015). On the demand side, Ley (1996) defines two groups which are pioneers and followers. He defines pioneers as young and well educated people with relatively low incomes. They are more risk-oblivious. On the other hand, gentrifiers are more affluent compared to the pioneers and they may be older than pioneers. Ley (1996) indicates that gentrifiers are risk-adverse compared to pioneers. While categorizing gentrifiers into two different groups, Ley (1996) bases them on their willingness to take risks. According to his analyses in Canadian cities about to gentrification, he uses two indicators which are percentage in quaternary occupations and university education (Ley, 1996).

Secondly, Lees (2003) actually mentions about two different groups who are the drivers of gentrification. According to her research in Brooklyn Heights, first of all as a pioneer gentrifier a young professional with a limited resource moves into the neighborhood and barely affords the property with sweat equity. He renovates the

house also with sweat equity. Once he decides to sell the property, a broker woman who is more affluent easily affords the property and pays 23 times more than what he paid for it 30 years ago. Lees (2003) calls this period as super gentrification. She even spends the amount of a house only for the renovations. Then she sells house after a short time to a computer folk who pays 3 times more what she paid less than a year ago (Lees, 2003). Therefore they are exactly super gentrifiers. In consideration of her approach, it can be said that Lees (2003) actually bases her discussions on the economic force of gentrifiers.

Thirdly, Ley (2003) reevaluates artists and creative class as an actor and aestheticization as a process in contributing to gentrification by referring to artists' artwork and interviews in his study. He emphasizes the relations between art, aestheticization, and commodification in residential areas of creative cities. The place or a product transforms from junk to art and then to commodity with the similar pattern of the gentrification process. Artists lead up this revaluation of the neighborhoods; while they look for authentic, affordable, socially diverse, and socially tolerant neighborhoods. He defines artists as a middle class with the high level of cultural capital and the success of learning an aesthetic disposition (Ley, 2003). Also their lifestyles are similar to middle classes' lifestyles. However they prefer poverty areas and non-renovated areas rather than frequently marketed "sterile" artists' lofts as redevelopment harms the allure of the place. Commodified locations, suburbs, and shopping malls are strongly rejected as they are symbols of a mass market and a failure of personal taste. In his study, Ley (2003) measures the spatial concentrations of artists by location quotient and the changing concentration of artists in census tracts in Toronto and Vancouver.

Furthermore, Florida (2004) categorizes three different groups constituting the creative class namely bohemians dealing with artistic creativity such as artists, designers, and writers, groups with technical creativity such as researchers and engineers, and the professionals with administrative creativity such as lawyers, executives, and financial and communication sector employees. Florida (2004) separates different types of people with different skill sets.

Moreover, Brown-Saracino (2009) criticizes the gentrification literature for presenting an oversimplified image of gentrifier. She asserts that gentrifiers do not possess a single value structure; in fact there are multiple attitudes and different and diverse orientations towards place and gentrification. Therefore she categorizes the gentrifiers into three groups in order to understand how they position themselves ideologically and practically to gentrification. These are social preservationists, social homesteaders, and pioneers (Brown-Saracino, 2009).

Type of newcomer	Origins	Vision	Attitude toward newcomers	Attitude toward old-timers
Social preservationist	Desire to live in authentic social space and affordable housing for middle class	Social ecology to be preserved and enjoyed; recognition of old-timers' culture	Dilute the authenticity of space; displace old-timers; threaten real community	Colorful; authentic; desirable
Social homesteader	Desire to live in authentic space and affordable housing for middle class	Improved space that includes embodiments of high culture and certain original features	Potential allies in improvement and/or efforts to preserve the built, natural, or social environment	Appreciation for diversity writ large; objects of uplift or symbolic preservation
Pioneer	Affordable housing for middle class; promise of economic gain; excitement of revitalization	Frontier to be tamed and later marketed	Welcome fellow pioneers; increased safety; rising property values	Threatened by; critical of

Table 2.6 Distinctions among gentrifiers (Adapted from Brown-Saracino, 2009)

Social preservationists find central city attractive as there are old timers in other words longtime residents whom they admire and find authentic and desirable. Social

preservationists move near old timers to live in their authentic communities. They are highly interested in preserving authentic conditions and work to prevent old timer's displacement. They even see new comers as a threat for real community and displacement of old timers (Brown-Saracino, 2009). On the other hand, social homesteaders also want to live in an authentic space and preserve it; however, they also support changes to improve the quality of life in the neighborhood. They neither try to prevent the displacement of old timers nor reject for total changes in the physical environment. Actually their interest for authenticity is not directly linked to old timers apart from social preservationists. They also have a positive attitude towards new comers in order to share cultural and economic traits (Brown-Saracino, 2009). On the other side, pioneers look for an affordable house and seek economic gain. They feel threatened by old timers. They welcome new comers whose arrival means increased safety and rising property values for pioneers (Brown-Saracino, 2009). All in all, Brown-Saracino categorizes gentrifiers according to their attitudes towards new comers and old timers.

Lastly, Blasius, Friedrichs and Rühl (2015) aim to distinguish the classification of demand groups of pioneers and "others". They categorize social groups into four which are the indigenous population, pioneers, gentrifiers, and super-gentrifiers. They differentiate the social groups according to their age, household size, education, and income and they use income as a major indicator in order to describe the gentrification process. They base all typologies on threshold values (Blasius, Friedrichs & Rühl, 2015). It means that a person may move from one category to another according to the change in evaluation characteristics such as increase in income, graduation from university or having a child. Therefore they reveal a flexible typology for modifications. They obtain data from two residential neighborhoods at different stages of gentrification in Cologne, Germany. Pioneers are up to 35 years old, they have at least a university entrance degree or 12 years of education.

Characteristic	Pioneers	Early gentrifiers	Established gentrifiers	Attitude toward old-timers	Attitude toward old-timers
Age	≤ 35 years	≤ 45 years	≤ 45 years	≤ 64 years	> 65 years
Years of schooling	12 years	No definition	No definition	Years of schooling	Years of schooling
Household size	Any	2 pers. , max. one child	2 pers. , max. one child	No pioneers or gentrifiers	By age criteria, no pioneers or gentrifiers
Children	No	Max. 1	Max. 1		
Income	< 1.500 €	1.500 -2.500 €	≥ 2.500 €		

Table 2.7 Classification of groups (Adapted from Blasius, Friedrichs & Rühl, 2015)

According to Blasius, Friedrichs and Rühl (2015), pioneers may share an apartment, may live alone or with their partner; however, they cannot live parents or cannot have a child. Their income is less than 1500 euro per month (Blasius, Friedrichs & Rühl, 2015). On the other side, gentrifiers are older than pioneers and have a higher income. Blasius, Friedrichs and Rühl (2015) distinguish two groups of gentrifiers by their income namely early gentrifiers and established gentrifiers. There is not an exact criterion for gentrifiers' education. They may live alone or with their partner, and have a child but not more than one child (Blasius, Friedrichs & Rühl, 2015). Indigenous people are pre-gentrification residents who are comprised of older working class people and also ethnic minorities. Blasius, Friedrichs and Rühl (2015) differentiate indigenous people into two due to their age: elderly and others. They are neither pioneers nor gentrifiers. Blasius, Friedrichs and Rühl (2015) note that threshold values need to be adjusted to economic conditions of in different countries.

2.8.2 Relevance of Gentrification Discussions in the Context of İstanbul

Since the gentrification debate has revealed in the early 1960s by Ruth Glass, the term has been discussed too much. Each scholar emphasized one of its many dimensions. During the late 1970s, stage models were developed which were aimed

to connect all different explanations of gentrification and to clarify the process and foresee the future course of gentrification. During the 1980s, production and consumption based theories were introduced. Production – supply side theories (Smith, 1979) focused on rent gap and value gap. Production based theories from a Marxist perspective approached the economic side of the gentrification process. On the other hand, consumption – demand side theories (Ley, 1986, 1994) focused on the actors involved in the process in other words gentrifiers, demographic characteristics of gentrifiers, cultural preferences, personal choices, cultural differentiation, and cultural changes. Consumption based theories had a more humanistic approach, in other words human dimension of the gentrification process was analyzed. Atkinson and Bridge (2005) also referred to different guises of different approaches in the gentrification literature: production or consumption, supply or demand, capital or culture, production of gentrifiable housing or production of gentrifiers. On the other side, some authors used both capital and cultural explanations (Zukin, 1987; Hamnett, 1991). Moreover, the gentrification processes discussed in negative (displacement and the revanchist city) or positive (emancipatory space) approaches occasionally. After more than 50 years in the gentrification literature, there have appeared new debates on the term. Since the beginning of 2000s, new forms of gentrification such as super gentrification and studentification have emerged and taken place in the gentrification debates.

As being the most dynamic city of Turkey besides being the cultural and economic center of the country, İstanbul has always been prominent. The city has a very long history and has welcomed many different ethnic groups and nationalities throughout its history. After the establishment of the Turkish Republic, especially between the 1940s and 1960s significant number of foreigners started to leave the inner city neighborhoods related to nationalization policies and pressures in regard to the foreign residents. According to İslam (2006), the departure of the massive middle and upper income minorities overlapped with the industrialization and urbanization era after the 1950s. Therefore there occurred a significant movement from rural parts of the country to İstanbul. Those lower income migrants moved into the abandoned minority neighborhoods. In time, social decline was followed by physical decline in

those neighborhoods. By the 1980s as these deteriorated houses from the late 19th and early 20th century offered gentrifiable inner city housing supply, these neighborhoods became suitable places for the conditions for the gentrification. The middle class members invaded those areas with affordable historical housing stock and they renovated those dilapidated houses which actually brought along gentrification. Ultimately, İstanbul has witnessed gentrification processes in different and distinct neighborhoods in time. With respect to this, gentrification processes in different neighborhoods of İstanbul were studied by many scholars. Till now, the gentrification processes in İstanbul have been studied frequently within the frame of Anglo-American approaches and mostly with quantitative research methodology. As mentioned during the literature review, gentrification has been passing through changes in the world and actually also in İstanbul. Relatedly new terms and factors are arising in the gentrification literature. Therefore all these diverse aspects can be also found in İstanbul, Turkey.

The already gentrified areas form a basis for these new debates such as studentification and super gentrification, also for social groups such as super gentrifiers, studentifiers, and creative class. After all these processes of the gentrification literature are analyzed, it is seen that the focus of all these gentrification debates is elements and outcomes that form these processes. Once those factors are evaluated and assessed, three main factors become prominent which are diversity, tolerance, and personal networks and meeting spaces.

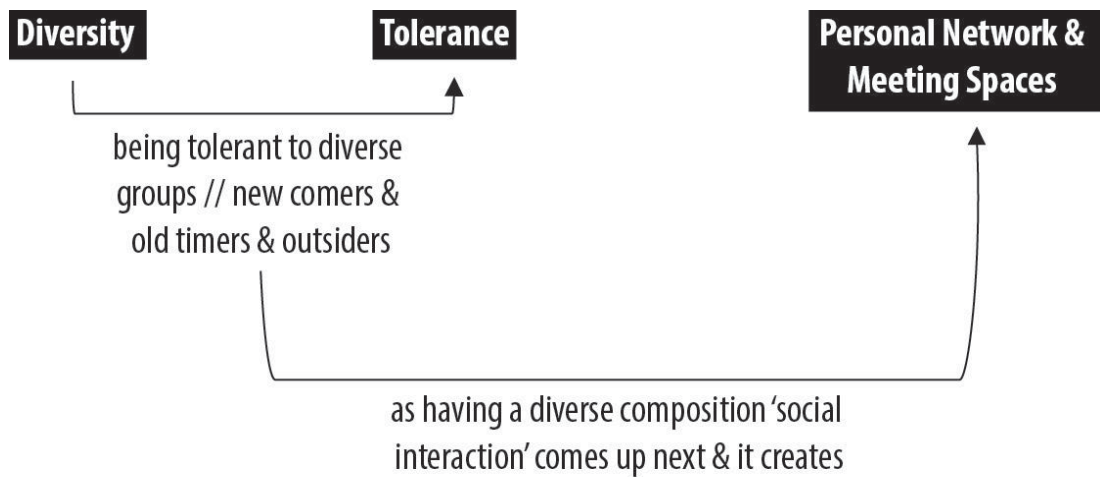


Table 2.8 New factors to define social groups

Diversity means the presence of mixture of people with different ethnic and national backgrounds, different ages and education levels, different lifestyles and preferences, and different socio-economic status. The presence of such diversity is important as it provides different groups of people to get together. Also gentrification by means of the movement of middle class into working class areas brings along diversity. In fact by including the new gentrification debates, there appear new groups in gentrified areas such as studentifiers, super gentrifiers, and creative groups beyond pioneers and followers anymore. According to Lees, Slater and Wyly (2008), gentrification is related to appeals to diversity, difference, and social mixing. As mentioned before, also gentrifiers mostly have a desire for social and cultural diversity. For instance Freeman (2006) mentions about the integration of white and black groups in two predominantly black neighborhoods Harlem and Clinton Hill after the gentrification processes. Even though former residents feel a threat of displacement in the air, they seem to be glad with diversity as a result of the gentrification process (Freeman, 2006). Florida (2004) also discusses socially and culturally diverse, tolerant, and talented environments, which implicitly resembles to gentrified or gentrifiable areas.

Tolerance is defined as the acceptance of different beliefs, behaviors, and conventions besides any kind of social equity encompasses such factors as race, immigration, and sexual preference (Haisch and Klöpper, 2015). Florida (2004) uses

the proportion of foreigners, immigrants, gays and lesbians in a specific area as tolerance indicators. These multiple groups actually refer to the social diversity. Therefore being diverse actually brings tolerance along. In order to provide an integrated diverse community structure, tolerance is a must. For instance, also Smith (2005) indicates that studentifiers look for tolerant and open minded places. Once discussing about a diverse community, it is important being tolerant to diverse groups and also to new comers, old timers, and outsiders.

As having a diverse and tolerant composition, social interaction comes up next and it creates personal networks and their meeting places. As the diverse groups in gentrified neighborhoods get together, there appears a social interaction. It leads to new forms of personal networks in urban space. For instance, as mentioned before new gentrifiers (super gentrifiers) tend to create their own cohort and interaction spaces in a local urban space. In brief, all new gentrification debates bring about new social groups which mean diverse community structure. It also means being tolerant to each other. Tolerant and diverse groups interact with each other and it provides a social interaction relatedly personal networks and meeting places are shaped.

It is important to discuss these new debates in a place that has already gentrified and passed through classical gentrification processes. Cihangir a neighborhood located in the European side of İstanbul has been selected for the study as it has already witnessed the classical gentrification processes. The selected neighborhood is post gentrification example which means the gentrification process has already proceeded in the neighborhood.

Cihangir in where the gentrification process is still going on will be examined with these factors with qualitative research methods in light of new gentrification debates. As the neighborhood has already gentrified and those classical gentrification processes have already been studied, the neighborhood actually provides a basis in order to discuss the new debates of gentrification. While discussing these new debates, selected new concepts namely diversity, tolerance, and personal network and meeting places will be used as factors. Cihangir has been a traditionally and socially diverse community in all times and welcomed many different ethnic groups

and nationalities. During the early 1990s, first marks of gentrification have emerged in Cihangir. Also Cihangir has been studied by different scholars mostly with quantitative data. However it is not rational to examine the new gentrification processes still with age, gender, income, education, and occupation data. Rather there are many diverse groups in the neighborhood. As Brown-Saracino (2005) indicates that there is an oversimplified image of gentrifiers and she thinks that multiple attitudes and practices that characterize the gentrification has been skipped. Therefore it is not rational to explain the socio-demographic structure just by saying “*pioneers and gentrifiers*” and to measure just with quantitative data. In the light of all new debates, it is important to investigate new social groupings with new factors and investigate the tensions between those groups. By questioning diversity and tolerance, the attitudes towards new and old residents besides outsiders can be analyzed. Also it is important to understand for whom Cihangir, an already gentrified neighborhood, becomes a networking place. The study will be in a qualitative way. Therefore the following chapters build upon the general framework presented in the discussions up to this point in the study.

CHAPTER 3

GENTRIFICATION IN İSTANBUL

3.1 Methodology of the Study

The study employs a case study approach. Cihangir a neighborhood in Beyoğlu, İstanbul is chosen as a case study area. As Cihangir has witnessed the first gentrification marks at the beginning of early 1990s, the classical gentrification processes have already been experienced in the neighborhood. Currently gentrification is mutating into new forms, there are new debates in gentrification literature. As an already gentrified neighborhood Cihangir provides a basis in order to discuss these new debates of gentrification. It is important to explain the reasons to carry out the case study in Cihangir first and then the research methodology in detail.

3.1.1 The Reasons Why Cihangir Is Chosen as a Case Study Area

Since the very beginning as being in the historic center and being the backyard of Pera, Cihangir has always been an important part of the cosmopolitan İstanbul. During the Ottoman Empire period Cihangir evolved as a residential area where non-Muslims especially Greeks were living densely. Until the establishment of the Turkish Republic, the neighborhood had multi-ethnic and multi-cultural presence. It can be said that Cihangir was emancipatory for non-Muslim groups and for a European life style at that time besides local İstanbulites. However after the establishment of the Republic and right after the harsh nationalist decisions against

non-Muslim groups, the original socio-demographic structure got harmed gradually because of the departure of non-Muslim residents. Especially for Cihangir, the September Events in 1955 and the Cyprus Conflict in 1964 caused a serious depopulation of Greeks. As a result both the original character and the cosmopolitan fabric of the neighborhood disappeared. However due to being close to Beyoğlu, Cihangir was still active and esoteric and for instance there were many tailors and clothes' cleaning stores in order to meet residents' needs. The departure of non-Muslim residents overlapped with the industrialization and urbanization era after the 1950s. Therefore there occurred an influx of rural migrants. The new residents from Anatolia and mostly from Eastern and Southeastern part of the country migrated into the area's vacant and dilapidated properties. According to Sasanlar (2006), in the case of Cihangir, departure of non-Muslim groups and arrival of these new residents redefined the population's composition. It was the starting point of neighborhood decline. Then illegal groups and transsexuals started to move in Cihangir. It can be said that during the 1970s and early 1980s Cihangir was emancipatory for those marginal groups. Their movement to the neighborhood caused abandonment of families. Nevertheless those groups were forced to leave the neighborhood after a while. Cihangir started to be perceived in a wrong way from outside as a result of all these breaking points and they caused a decline in the neighborhood. After then during the 1980s, as a result of revitalization projects in Beyoğlu in parallel with neoliberal policies, Cihangir became popular again. By the end of 1980s, another demographic shift was on the way. Some managerial and professional groups started to move into certain deteriorated historic neighborhoods (Uzun, 2001). Also at the beginning of 1990s, interest on Cihangir increased and relatedly the composition of population has started to change once again. Academicians, young professionals, and artists preferred the neighborhood for its architectural and environmental values. They bought or rented houses and renovated them according to their original form. All these triggered the gentrification process in Cihangir. Then, others have followed them. Following this, property prices have started to increase in the neighborhood and displacement has also become inevitable especially for tenants. Also in time people who had difficulties in affording their daily life in Cihangir started to leave

the neighborhood. Related to different life styles and preferences of new resident various new service sectors appeared in the neighborhood especially cafés.

In short, from time to time Cihangir experienced different waves. First non-Muslims were majority but nearly all of them not only left Cihangir but also the country. After the departure of non-Muslim groups, people from Eastern part of Turkey moved in. Then transsexuals moved to Cihangir but they were under pressure by residents and forced to leave. After academicians, artists, and young professionals became interested in the neighborhood and moved in. All these changes caused further changes both in physical and social structure of the neighborhood. Actually in each period, Cihangir became an emancipatory space for a different group of people. Today Cihangir is very dynamic and very changeable. Previously people preferred to live in Cihangir due to physical reasons such as being central. Currently people prefer to live in Cihangir due to its popularity. Firstly, Cihangir is an emancipatory space for new groups anymore and it is important to understand for whom it has become an emancipatory space. Secondly, as most of the residents of Cihangir are known with their being open minded and tolerant, it is important to discuss if they are really tolerant to diversity and open to outsiders and new comers. Moreover since the beginning having a diverse composition, it is important to discuss if Cihangir is still diverse in terms of socio-demographic composition. Furthermore, related to being very popular some people prefer Cihangir for networking and they all have their distinct networking spaces where they interact with each other. There are different collaborations and meeting places between residents and it is important to investigate those personal network patterns. Above all, Cihangir is one of the foremost examples of gentrified neighborhoods in İstanbul. The gentrification process of the neighborhood that has begun during the early 1990s has changing its form and transforming into a different mode. As gentrification discussions are also shifting to new debates, as being an already gentrified neighborhood Cihangir provides a basis as an example in order to discuss these new debates.

3.1.2 Methodology of the Analysis

The study is based on qualitative research in an already gentrified neighborhood Cihangir. In the study, the methodology of qualitative research with the case study approach is employed. Qualitative research is designed to reveal the perceptions and the behavior of the target audiences on specific subjects or issues. The results are descriptive instead of being predictive (QRCA, 2015). Its aims and methods are different. It aims to understand attitudes and experiences. Also qualitative research generates words rather than numbers for analysis (MSF, 2007). Within the scope of the qualitative research, in-depth interviews and personal observations are used as the main data collection method during the study.

The thesis study was developed concomitantly with a wider research project. Within the context of the research project called “Practices and Policies for Neighborhood Improvement: Towards 'Gentrification 2.0'” funded by the Scientific and Technological Research Council of Turkey (TUBITAK) JPI Urban Europe which focuses on the processes of gentrification in four inner-city neighborhoods in Vienna, Arnhem, İstanbul, and Zurich, as an İstanbul case Cihangir which is one of the oldest neighborhoods of İstanbul is chosen as it has witnessed numerous breaking points through its history and has already witnessed classical gentrification process during the early 1990s.

As well as participating to all meetings with METU project group on a regular basis, also the project meetings with other project partners were organized and the author also participated to the project meeting in November, 2014 in İstanbul. Moreover, field trips to Cihangir were implemented between June 2014 and May 2015. During the project studies, numerous meeting and visits were done to Cihangir. Besides organizing meetings with different interest groups, also in-depth interviews were conducted in the neighborhood with different actors of interest.

The Dates of the Field Trips	The Reason of the Field Trip
30.06.2014 - 04.07.2014	In-depth interviews
12.11.2014 - 15.11.2014	Project consortium meeting in İstanbul
24.12.2014 - 27.12.2014	In-depth interviews
09.03.2015	In-depth interviews
11.05.2015 - 15.05.2015	In-depth interviews and meetings with NGOs

Table 3.1 Summary of the meetings and the dates of in-depth interviews and meetings conducted

According to Freeman (2006), in-depth interviews are most reliable method to tap into people's feelings and perspectives across a wide range of individuals rather than standardized surveys. In-depth interviewing provides a wide range of individuals to be included in the study. Therefore during the study in-depth interviews were the primary source and following that personal observations were also taken into account. The in-depth interviews were comprised of open-ended questions in order to get more detailed and longer answers. Basically the aim was to get interviewees' observations, ideas, and experiences in question.

The interviews that were conducted within the frame of the project were done with ten different actors in the field namely academicians, community groups, entrepreneurs, investors, journalists, the municipality, political parties, real estate agents, residents, and visitors. For the thesis study, 36 of all the interviews mostly consisting of resident interviews were benefited. The subject in-depth interviews were conducted mostly with current residents while some of them were with ex-residents who moved out from the neighborhood. Sample size was defined in the light of the interview topics by the project team as minimum 20 interviews with old residents and minimum 10 interviews with new residents. As a part of old groups, interviews were conducted with established residents with immigrant background, established İstanbulites, and pioneers. As a part of new groups, recently moved

renters or owners, students, and short time residents were target groups. The age ranges were tried to be in equilibrium distribution. Snowball sampling was used during the in-depth interviews. Generally interviewees referred to other people whom they thought that it would be useful to talk with them. Also while spending time in the neighborhood; there appeared a chance to communicate with several people.

All collected stories represented oral storylines, personal ideas and experiences were included. During the in-depth interviews and meetings, mostly note taking method was used in order not to discomfort participants; however, sometimes audio recording was used, too. All in-depth interviews were transcribed and some of them were also taped. Also all meetings in the field area were taped and transcribed. The transcripts were all analyzed and discussed by the METU project group during the regular meetings in METU, Ankara.

The study investigated the socio-demographic structure of Cihangir through three major discussions which were diversity, tolerance, and personal networks and meeting places. In order to define the interviewees' profile at the beginning basic information were asked such as gender, age, and occupation. The following questions were discussed for the investigation of the main discussion debates:

- Since when do you live in Cihangir?
- Are you interested in moving from the neighborhood in the future?
- What did you know about this neighborhood before?
- How do you describe the people in this neighborhood/district?
- What is the socio-demographic composition of the neighborhood?
- Did the composition change? How did the composition look like in the past?
- Whom do you count as “*established/existing*” resident?
- Whom do you count as “*new*” resident?
- Who is part of the neighborhood? Who is excluded?
- What social composition do you prefer in your neighborhood?
- To what group do you consider yourself belong to and why?
- How do you get in contact with other people in your neighborhood?

- Where do you meet other people in your neighborhood?
- Do you notice changes in commercial supply in your neighborhood?
- Do you appreciate these changes? Why?
- How do you describe public spaces in your neighborhood?
- How do consider safety, cleanliness, functionality, atmosphere in the neighborhood?

The main aim of the questions is to observe the new social groups in gentrification processes and to find out if there is literally diversity or not in a gentrifying or gentrified neighborhood. It is important to understand whether people are living in harmony or not. It actually brings tolerance along. Also it is important to investigate if diversity leads up a community and if there are personal networks and collaborations. It aims to find out social interactions and how people relate, make contact, and interact. It is done by examining the interpretations by residents on the demographic structure of the neighborhood and residential views on their social networks and also new socio-demographic composition of the neighborhood.

3.2 Deindustrialization and Gentrification

Deindustrialization plays a significant role in changing characteristics of cities and in fact as an accelerator for gentrification. First of all, by the middle of the 19th century, following the industrial revolution mass production started and it caused a totally new period economically and in urban environments. This process brought along Fordism in the 1920s as a result of an industrialized and standardized form of mass production. However after the 1970s, as the demand for new production types and new products had arisen, specialized and flexible production started with Post Fordism system (Hall, 1998). Unlike Fordism, Post Fordism made a difference in consumption and production types. Specialized goods were served for different groups of consumers. Production also became more diverse and differentiated. Along with Post Fordism deindustrialization process also began (Hall, 1998).

At the beginning of 1980s, industrial production has started to decrease, hence the factories started to be closed and workforce replaced with technology. The industrial city development lost acceleration. Related with its environmental effects, development of industries in the city centers became unsustainable. Moreover, neoliberal policies supported service sector as an alternative to industrial development. This has resulted with the rise of service sector in the cities. Uzun (2000) defines service sector as a social system in which service is produced based on information. Both socio-economic and spatial transformations emerged with service sector. Some areas in the city center have become vacant as a result of abandoned industrial sites. Cultural industries besides media, communication, advertisement, public relations, design, and fashion were supported with new decisions and policies. Zukin (1998) expresses this with “*cultural transformation*” in the industrial cities. The city centers became a place for these newly emerged working areas. As a result of the service sector new social groups have appeared namely new middle class. This new middle class group mostly consists of young urban professionals and couples with double income no kids who have enough money to be able to move to such areas (Ergün, 2004). Their life style and preferences show differences in contrast with traditional family structures such as late marriage, marriage with few or no child, spending all earnings instead of saving, being interested in entertainment and shopping intensively (Ergün, 2006). The new middle class prefer historical city centers generally and areas close to their work on the ground of low costs and easy access to new business areas. They also pay attention to be close to the city center where social and cultural events take place (Başyazıcı, 2012). These expectations have resulted with returning to the city center. Uzun (2001) claims that in Turkey and İstanbul movement of people is from inner city to the city center while in Anglo American models it is from suburban to the city center. Anyhow as a result of returning to the city center, there appeared cultural, social and physical changes in the center. The old buildings in the centers were renovated and started to be used by upper income groups. Hence the surrounding neighborhoods affected from this change and reshaped. Regarding this, Uzun (2001) explains that gentrification is an urban reconstruction as a following policy of deindustrialization.

3.3 The Historical Development of İstanbul

Congruently İstanbul has witnessed same processes as well. As being an economic, historical and cultural hearth of the country İstanbul had become a strong industrial city at the beginning of the 19th century. With the establishment of the Republic, once Ankara was declared as the capital of the Republic and the capital city functions were transferred to Ankara, İstanbul lost its political power (Uzun, 2001). According to Uzun (2001), the main aim of the new Republic was to establish a completely different state from the Ottoman Empire. İstanbul had a period of recession at that time. No investments were made to the city. Turkey was an agricultural country; however, after the 1950s manufacturing sector started to be noticeable (Can, 2013). Concomitantly after the 1950s, once social democratic party came to the power İstanbul came to the fore as an industrial city again. Due to the liberal economic policies and new planning decisions the city became like a construction site (Başyazıcı, 2012). Once industry developed, migration became inevitable. At that time, the housing stock in the later gentrified neighborhoods was inhabited by non-Muslims especially Greeks, Jews, and Armenians, and European foreigners (İslam, 2006). Related with the policies and pressures in regard to the foreign residents such as the September Events and the wealth tax law, the foreign residents not only started to leave their neighborhoods but also the country, hence there appeared vacant housing stock in the centers. Therefore new migrants mostly from Eastern part of Turkey preferred those vacant city center (Uysal, 2008). As most of the houses' ownership status was indefinite, Eastern and Southeastern originated people settled those houses as renters or as occupants (Yavuz, 2006). According to Yavuz (2006), those new comers did not have the strength to leave cultural mark on places they arrived. Also their resources was not enough to afford the maintenance and reinvestment costs of the houses; therefore, after a while there appeared both physical and social decline in the neighborhoods. Therefore for gentrification those neighborhoods became appropriate places as they served both affordable housing and easily displaceable residents (İslam, 2006).

Later in 1973, the Bosphorus Bridge was completed. This resulted in shifting of business districts from Galata to Mecidiyeköy (Başyazıcı, 2012). Related to the new bridge spine, new commercial and business centers have developed such as Beşiktaş, Levent, Etiler, and Mecidiyeköy (İslam, 2006). Then in 1980, a new era started and both Turkey and İstanbul experienced a rapid transformation (Uzun, 2001). After the 1980s, Turkish economy was opened to world capital flow. Since 1980 Turkish coup d'état, instead of inward oriented development policies, neoliberal strategies which aimed outward-looking growth economy were adapted as a reaction to the emerging process of globalization. The national economy was integrated with the world economy. Furthermore, manufacturing sector gave place to service sector (İlkuçan, 2004). Finance, insurance, and real estate sectors (FIRE) has accelerated and it was aimed to grow the FIRE sectors based in İstanbul and also property and building sectors (Can, 2013). After FIRE sectors have gained importance, İstanbul has become prominent in Turkish economy in a short time. İstanbul alone hosted the large part of external activities. İslam (2006) indicated that the number of foreign capital companies increased 75-fold at the same time period. All these sectoral changes and economic transformations created new professional and managerial job opportunities. These new work forces appealed to the new high income wage earner group and their new cultural identity adapted from the western values hence the city center also attracted their attention. These potential pioneers of gentrification were constituted by people who studied abroad for a while and had a strong connection to abroad and seized the opportunity of the real estate market and architectural quality by seeking new lifestyles (Behar & David, 2006).

As existence of both gentrifiable housing stock and potential gentrifiers were provided, the process of gentrification was led up. All these economic, cultural and socio demographic transformations attracted the new middle class and in addition other developments provided continuity of the process. For instance in the 1990s, media sector gained importance and new job opportunities in media and advertisement sectors came up. At the meantime, the number of world brand stores, new shopping centers, new restaurants and fast food chains, bars and night clubs increased and in addition to these rapidly increasing numbers of film, theatre, jazz,

music, and art festivals were organized (İslam, 2006). Therefore new middle class started to move into inner-city neighborhoods. As they preferred these inner city areas, those neighborhoods were subject to gentrification (Uzun, 2001). Therefore with their movement to the city center, gentrification period in İstanbul has officially started.

Even though in terms of time factor, İstanbul has a long term and more uncertain process than western examples, the gentrification process in İstanbul overlaps with foreign examples and shows similarities such as gentrifiers' occupational and cultural structuring, intervention methods to buildings, and additionally the similarities of the neighborhoods' location that gentrification took place in the city. In Turkey, gentrification has emerged at most in a range of districts of İstanbul in which historical background is intense mainly in the Bosphorus, Beyoğlu, and the Golden Horn each with different factors and motives (İslam, 2006). İslam (2006) distinguishes gentrified neighborhoods according to the time of emergence of gentrification and describes three waves of gentrification in İstanbul.



Figure 3.1 Three waves of gentrification in İstanbul (Adapted from İslam, 2006)

In the first wave gentrification, the neighborhoods in the coasts of Bosphorus experienced the gentrification process at the beginning of 1980s. They are seaside settlements in the Bosphorus with unique character and texture; therefore, the driving force was related to environmental value. These neighborhoods are Kuzguncuk, Arnavutköy, and Ortaköy. Gentrification first started with a housing rehabilitation in these neighborhoods where the late 19th century and early 20th century two and three storey housing stocks were available. After the 1990s, in Ortaköy the form of gentrification has changed as the municipality of the district reorganized the Ortaköy Square. Hence social and entertainment activities increased in the neighborhood; while residential areas were affected in a negative way. During the 1990s, housing rehabilitations continued in Kuzguncuk and Arnavutköy. In contrast to Ortaköy, there appeared limited displacement and still in both neighborhoods diverse social groups live all together (İslam, 2006).

In the second wave, Cihangir, Galata, and Asmalımescit neighborhoods in Beyoğlu district went through gentrification in the 1990s. Each neighborhood is close to Beyoğlu and this closeness to the culture and entertainment sector had an important effect for gentrification process. Also, environmental value and location were other driving forces in the second wave. All neighborhoods also have the late 19th century and early 20th century housing stock with Bosphorus view. İslam (2006) indicates that as Beyoğlu was lack of entertainment activities during the 1980s, coastal neighborhoods that have experienced the first wave gentrification attracted potential gentrifiers more with their environmental amenities first. However after the revitalization projects of Mayor Bedrettin Dalan in İstiklal Street, gentrification broke through in the district and continued in each neighborhood in a different way. In Asmalımescit both residential and commercial gentrification occurred; while in Galata and Cihangir residential gentrification was more spread. In comparison with Galata, Cihangir experienced the gentrification rapidly and in a short time property prices increased a lot and Cihangir became a middle and upper class neighborhood (İslam, 2006).

In the third wave, Fener and Balat neighborhoods in the Golden Horn experienced gentrification (İslam, 2006). Just like former neighborhoods after the 1950s social and physical decline were seen in Fener and Balat related to the arrival of immigrants. Social and economic conditions got worse as a result of an abandonment of trade activities from the Golden Horn during the 1980s. In order to reduce these negative causes, a rehabilitation program was announced (İslam, 2006). This rehabilitation program accelerated the gentrification process in Fener and Balat indeed. Therefore apart from the former waves, Fener and Balat experienced gentrification via a rehabilitation project. On the other hand, in former neighborhoods gentrification occurred with housing market. Until the 2000s, gentrification occurred through private housing market in İstanbul, while after the 2000s state intervention became more apparent (Can, 2013). Currently, also in other places in İstanbul gentrification is revealing in İstanbul. For instance, Kurtuluş-Pangaltı, Karaköy, and Tophane are experiencing rapid transformation currently.



Figure 3.2 First wave gentrification - A view from Kuzguncuk (Erdem Kaşıkçı Photo and Blog, 2015)



Figure 3.3 Second wave gentrification - A view from Cihangir (Emine Yetişkul Şenbil photo archive)

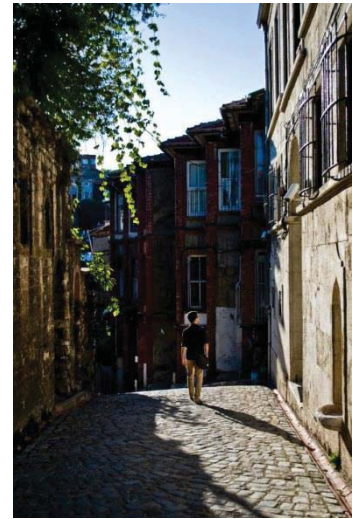


Figure 3.4 Third wave gentrification - A view from Fener-Balat (Personal archive)

All places that has experienced or experiencing gentrification process mainly resemble each other in certain points. They all constitute historical and cultural characteristics of the city. First of all, even they are in different places their common characteristic is that they are historical settlements (Can, 2013). Can (2013) asserts that many listed buildings and unique architectural style take place in these neighborhoods. The typical buildings are mostly belonged to the late 19th or early 20th century. According to Yavuz (2006), houses are generally dilapidated and vacant and also their ownership statuses are complicated related to forced migrations of minorities. Hence different agents seize the houses or barter them away. Furthermore, the neighborhoods were settlements of non-Muslim minorities before. Also, the neighborhoods have the feature of distinct environmental amenities such as sea view or being near seashore (İslam, 2006). Also, gradually their land price is increasing.

Cihangir as it is mentioned above is one of the earliest examples of gentrification process in İstanbul. It is one of the pioneer gentrified neighborhoods. In the following parts, to understand the neighborhood extensively and to get the bottom of the gentrification process that the neighborhood witnessed, the history of Cihangir and then gentrification period in Cihangir will be handled. Then the current situation in the neighborhood will be discussed before the fieldwork studies' discussions. But first of all as being a neighborhood of the Beyoğlu district, it is also critical to investigate the historical evolution of Beyoğlu.

3.4 The Historical Development of Beyoğlu District

Beyoğlu formerly called Pera is an old district of İstanbul that is located on the European side and opposite to the historical peninsula. As being a business, entertainment and recreation, and cultural center of the city with numerous cafés and restaurants, stores, theaters, cinemas, schools, hotels, cultural centers, art galleries et cetera, it is one of the most active and distinctive district of İstanbul with its multicultural structure. Currently Beyoğlu consists of 45 neighborhoods with a

population of about 240 thousand people according to the address based population registration system result at the end of 2014.

During the 1980s, coastal neighborhoods that experienced gentrification in the first wave were more inviting for the potential gentrifiers owing to high environmental amenities. However during the 1990s, due to having a historical housing stock dating from the 19th and 20th century and historical urban texture and being close to intense cultural and entertainment activities with the location of the district, gentrification was observed in the neighborhoods of Beyoğlu. Actually right after the regeneration projects in İstiklal Street, the district leaped forward and gentrification was progressed in the different neighborhoods such as Cihangir and Galata in the second wave (İslam, 2006). Also there are other neighborhoods in the district that are experiencing the process newly such as Karaköy and Tophane.

3.4.1 ‘Pera’ in the Former Times

During the Byzantine Period, the unsettled hillside of current Beyoğlu was called as Peran Vineyards (Beyoğlu Municipality, 2015). At that time, the old and walled Genoese citadel Galata was a settlement with its harbor and residential areas around whereas the quarter of Pera was unsettled hill behind Galata which later developed. According to İlkuçan (2004), towards the 17th century commercial area expanded and increased with the expanding trade and this walled settlement became an important trade center in time. Hence residential areas started to shift to the top of Galata hill in other words to Pera. At the time of the conquest of İstanbul, Galata was a significant overseas trade center. In Galata, there were mainly Genoese, Greeks, Armenians, and Jews according to the 1455 Ottoman survey; while there were just 20 Muslims (İnalçık, 1976 as cited in İlkuçan, 2004). However in the early 16th century, the proportion of Muslim population had increased (İlkuçan, 2004). For the period of the Ottoman Empire, in Galata and Pera the majority of the population was still consisting of Europeans and Levantines which were mostly Italians and the French. In terms of socio-demographic structure and population composition, the area was

like a European city. In the middle of the 16th century, most of the European embassies started to move from Galata to Pera. Therefore day by day Pera became an important part and extension of Galata. However till the end of 18th century, settlement had not been much sprawled outside to the walls of Galata (Beyoğlu Municipality, 2015).

At the beginning of 19th century, there occurred significant development in Pera in the direction of the Taksim axis. Pera was a major settlement for Levantines anymore. According to İlkuçan (2004), as the area was providing European way of life, many people were choosing Pera to live in. Within the area extending from Galata Tower to Galatasaray, Greeks, Armenians, Jews, Levantines, and other foreigners constituted the majority (Beyoğlu Municipality, 2015). İlkuçan (2004) asserts that after French Revolution in the 18th century, the importance of the Galata Harbor decreased and while Galata started to decline; Pera became more popular as a residential area vice versa. In time, it expanded first to Taksim, then Pangaltı, Kurtuluş, and Nişantaşı as being a European lifestyle center. In the middle of the 19th century, even though Levantines, Armenians, Jews, Greeks, and other foreigners were working in Galata, they were living in Pera. Galata and Pera were different in terms of physical and social environment in the 19th century. Aristocrat pretense of wealthy Levantines was reflected via schools, residences, shops, and embassies (Akın, 1998).

Beyoğlu had a distinct lifestyle and image compared to the Ottoman world surrounding it. İlkuçan (2004) defined Pera as a distinct town within a town for that time. As the area developed, Galata walls and old houses were demolished in order to construct new roads or to develop the existing ones. Also, in order to prevent increasing number of fires, construction of wooden building was prohibited (Beyoğlu Municipality, 2015). Then in 1875, The Tunnel funicular was inaugurated. In 1913, the tram between Beyoğlu and Şişli came into use. After the establishment of the Turkish Republic, the settlement area of Beyoğlu sprawled from Teşvikiye and Maçka to Beşiktaş beyond Şişli to the Golden Horn's slopes and the Bosphorus (Beyoğlu Municipality, 2015). In the long term, this resulted houses to turn into

working places. Along the İstiklal Street, banks, cafés, theaters, cinemas, restaurants, shops, and recreational areas appeared (Beyoğlu Municipality, 2015). However Galata and Pera could survive their historical qualities with the less deterioration.

3.4.2 Beyoğlu in the Republican Period

After the establishment of the Turkish Republic as a nation state, there appeared certain changes. Once Ankara was declared as a capital city, İstanbul's priority was interrupted for a while. Sasanlar (2006) stated that in order to ensure culturally, ethnically, religiously, and linguistically united structure political actions were taken namely Turkification policies. As İstanbul had a multi-ethnic and multi-religious structure since the Ottoman Empire, it was affected adversely.

First of all, the embassies in İstanbul were transferred to Ankara between 1927 and 1929, and embassy employees left Beyoğlu additionally. In 1923 with the Treaty of Lausanne the minorities lost their privileges related to capitulations (İlkuçan, 2004). Moreover, with the Treaty of Lausanne "the Convention Concerning the Exchange of Greek and Turkish Populations" was signed. According to the convention, all the Greek population in Turkey except the ones in İstanbul, Bozcaada and Gökçeada exchanged with the Turkish population in Greece except the ones in Western Trace between 1923 and 1927. Even though the Greeks in İstanbul were exempted from the exchange of population; there occurred even a little population decrease in the city.

Furthermore, in 1942 the Wealth Tax was implemented in order to recoup World War II losses. Although the tax law comprised Muslims and Turkish people besides minorities, there was injustice in the tax rates. While the tax rate was 5% for Muslim citizens; it was more than 200% for non-Muslim minorities. Also there were discriminations in collection of the tax between Muslims and non-Muslims (Sasanlar, 2006). The taxes were also expected to be paid in a limited time, within 15 days. The ones who could not pay it on time were subjected to confiscation of their properties and even some of them were sent to Erzurum, Aşkale to work in constructions. The

Wealth Tax law was cancelled after a year (İlkuçan, 2004). Many non-Muslims left the country as a result of discriminative acts related to the Wealth Tax.

Later in 1948, once Israel was founded, most of the Jews migrated to their new country (Ergün, 2004). Ergün (2004) stated that in the following years related to internal migrations, new districts' development, and rapid urbanization the boundaries of İstanbul expanded hence special interest in Beyoğlu decreased. Still, despite all the political actions directed at the minorities the most traumatic one was the September Events in 1955. While negotiations for the future of Cyprus between Greece and Turkey were going on; on account of the fact that Atatürk House in Thessaloniki was bombed, protests started in Taksim. Then for two days, Greeks were threatened and their homes, businesses were plundered or burned down (İlkuçan, 2004). On the night of September 6, martial law was declared (Sasanlar, 2006). After the September Events, many Greeks sold their properties and abandoned Beyoğlu and the cafés and shops belonged to them were closed. According to Ergün (2004), as these places were popular meeting places for many people, it also resulted with a significant change in the social structure. There was a considerable departure of minorities. According to Wrigley (2013), the anti-minority pogrom was an attempt to remove the physical residue of history as if by damaging the architecture, they could eradicate a culture. Then in 1964, followed by increasing tension between Turkey and Greece about Cyprus, the government of Turkey deported thousands of Greeks mostly living in Beyoğlu. Then in 1974, again related with the Cyprus conflict many Greek residents left Turkey as they worried about their security (İlkuçan, 2004).

According to İlkuçan (2004), there was an attempt to remove the Ottoman Empire's traces. While Ottoman Empire was a social and cultural mosaic in terms of ethnicity, language, and religion, Turkish government took a stand against identity pluralism and aimed at a nation without minorities. There had been attempts intended for exiling the minorities first with exchange of populations, then with the wealth tax, then with the September Events, and then the deportation of Greeks after Cyprus conflicts. The diverse, multi-cultural and multi religious structure of the Ottoman

Empire actually got harmed. In about a 40 year period, minorities who predominantly lived in İstanbul abandoned the country and it correspondingly caused abandoned houses and work places. Therefore İstanbul became a more homogenous city as a result of decreased number of minorities and the character of the neighborhoods also changed (İlkuçan, 2004). While people from rural areas started to migrate to the cities; Beyoğlu provided cheap and affordable houses as there were many abandoned ones (Ergün, 2004). All these political actions and Turkification attempts resulted serious changes in Beyoğlu. With the new comers from rural area, Beyoğlu started to decline. Ergün (2004) stated that even Beyoğlu became like a slum area. İlkuçan (2004) indicated that migrants moved to Cihangir, Çukurcuma and Tarlabası neighborhoods and became the new residents of those neighborhoods. Even though those neighborhoods were attractive before, they started to be called with poverty, pollution, and crime from the outside. Also prostitutes, transsexuals, gays, drug dealers moved to these declining neighborhoods (İlkuçan, 2004). It was like as if Beyoğlu was left to decay.

Then during the 1980s, the mayor Bedrettin Dalan came up with a revitalization project for Beyoğlu district. Within the context of the project, İstiklal Street was pedestrianized and in order to solve traffic problems a new road was constructed namely Tarlabası Boulevard. The construction of the new road resulted with destruction of historical buildings which were mostly built and used by Greeks and Armenians. The district expected to be cleaned from drug dealers, prostitutes, and transsexuals and rehabilitated at the end of the project (İlkuçan, 2004). İstiklal Street has become a center of cultural and entertainment activities; while the traffic was transferred to the newly opened boulevards (İslam, 2006). As a result of the revitalization projects in İstiklal Street, gentrification leaped forward in the surrounding neighborhoods.

Then during the 1990s, with the movement of intellectuals and artists to the district the renovation process started. This new middle class group in the neighborhoods of Beyoğlu purchased or rented old apartments and renovated them. Consequently new cafés, restaurants, shops, and galleries started to be opened. Then the district of

Beyoğlu which incorporated many historical buildings of the late 19th early 20th century was identified as a conservation zone in 1993. However the preparation of the Beyoğlu Conservation Plan started in 2004 and the master and implementation plans were prepared and approved by İstanbul Metropolitan Municipality in 2010 and 2011 (Yetişkul, Kayasü & Özdemir, forthcoming). Ayaspaşa, Galata, and Cihangir neighborhood associations and also various civil society institutions came together as Beyoğlu Neighborhood Associations Platform and rejected to the plans which were not appropriate to the law. The platform filed petitions and also other civil groups and organizations supported the action with extra objection petitions. As a result, the plan was cancelled in 2013. In 2014, new conservation plan started to be prepared by the Beyoğlu Municipality. The Municipality had a meeting with locals, and the Neighborhood Associations Platform submitted a report that included their reservations regarding the urban development in their neighborhoods (Yetişkul, Kayasü & Özdemir, forthcoming).

3.5 The History of Cihangir

3.5.1 Cihangir during the Ottoman Empire Period

Cihangir is one of the oldest neighborhoods of İstanbul located on the European side with its numerous amenities and an impressive Bosphorus and Historical Peninsula view. As being the backyard of the historic district Pera, the neighborhood developed as a residential area of non-Muslim minorities who were intensively Greeks, Armenians, Jews, and mostly French and Italian originated Levantines. In fact, Cihangir hosted mostly foreigners working in the embassies, consulates, schools, and banks in Pera and also established non-Muslim citizens during the Ottoman Empire period (Sasanlar, 2006).

Although there is almost no information about Cihangir in pre Ottoman Period, some ruins that probably belonged to an old pagan temple and an early Byzantine monastery were found in the area (Sasanlar, 2006). The very first building in the neighborhood was the Cihangir Mosque which was constructed in 1559. In fact, the

name of the neighborhood comes from the Cihangir Mosque which was built on top of a hill. Sultan's son Cihangir was the youngest child of Sultan Suleiman the Magnificent and Hürrem Sultan (Uzunçarşılı, 1983). As he had some congenital disorders and a hunchback, his siblings always had frozen him out, except his step brother, Sultan's son Mustafa. Once his step brother was executed when it was ordered by their father Sultan Suleiman the Magnificent, Cihangir felt deep sadness. Reportedly he later died from his step brother's grief. Sultan Suleiman the Magnificent had Architect Sinan build a wooden mosque overlooking the Bosphorus and the city in order to commemorate his son's early death. Once the Mosque was named as Cihangir Mosque, the area also started to be called as Cihangir and the settlement had started to be shaped around the mosque in time as an extending part of Galata. At that time, a dervish lodge and an Ottoman elementary school were constructed and then other developments also followed around the mosque right behind Pera and Galata in the second half of the 16th century. An observatory and a library were constructed also at that time.

In the 17th century, the area had started to revive around the Cihangir Mosque and the Dervish Lodge next to the mosque. During the following periods, new dervish lodges and mosques were built besides new fountains in order to prevent fires (Sasanlar, 2006). The population had increased related with new developments in the area. However as the area developed, there occurred significant fires between 1765 and 1915. In fact, the building materials and building characteristic in Cihangir were timber and wooden for that era. Therefore fires were disruptive throughout the city. But as having less density, Cihangir had less devastation (Sasanlar, 2006). However in the 1765 fire, almost all buildings got damage in Cihangir. In 1822, another fire occurred which had started from Firuzağa and spread to Sormagir Street. Then in 1863, 42 houses were destroyed with another big fire (IBB İstanbul Fire Brigade, 2014). In 1915, another fire broke out in Cihangir and Tophane districts. In total, 135 wooden houses were burnt out (IBB İstanbul Fire Brigade, 2014). Cihangir lost almost all typical wooden architecture housing stock. After all these devastations, no more wooden houses were built but multi-storey masonry apartments with new

architectural styles were started to be built instead which later shaped a new urban fabric (Coşkun & Yalçın, 2007; Sasanlar, 2006).

In the 20th century, once the construction type had changed, all typical wooden houses started to disappear in the neighborhood. Therefore at the end of 19th century and in the first quarter of 20th century, with the construction of masonry multi storey apartment houses Cihangir started to become a denser residential area (Ergün, 2004). The architectural change was mostly led by Levantines and Greeks. According to Tanyeli (2005), Pera had the feature of art nouveau architecture style at the beginning of 20th century. It was the transformation from traditional wooden Ottoman houses to new designs such as single family dwellings (İlkuçan, 2004). At that time, this architectural style revolution was observed in the neighborhoods where wealthy Greeks and Levantines lived; while in other comparatively poor neighborhoods it was not the case. Also in Cihangir there appeared many new art nouveau style buildings that were built by Levantines and Greeks (Sasanlar, 2006).

During the period, with the increasing number of embassies and consulates in Pera, Cihangir developed in the periphery of Pera (Sasanlar, 2006). Cihangir was inhabited by mostly non-Muslim minorities such as Greeks, Levantines mostly of Italians and Frenches, Armenians, Jews, and Germans. According to Sasanlar (2006), Cihangir was like a mosaic comprised of people from different nations who work in the schools, banks, hospitals, consulates, embassies close to the neighborhood and in Pera.

The residents of Cihangir till the abolition of the Ottoman Empire took advantage of being close to the entertainment and culture center Pera. Till the beginning of 20th century, Cihangir remained as a privileged neighborhood. However with the proclamation of the Republic, this situation started to change gradually.

3.5.2 Cihangir in the Early Republican Period

After the establishment of the Republic and the declaration of Ankara as a capital city, Beyoğlu and its surrounding area including Cihangir lost its former dominant

status. The development and planning works were mostly concentrated in Ankara hence Ankara left İstanbul in the shade. Keyder (2000) asserted that due to the efforts to create a national bourgeoisie, İstanbul and Beyoğlu lost their vitality as they were not like a part of Turkey but like a part of European country. Also during the Prime Minister Adnan Menderes period in 1950s, there did not develop good policies. Implemented renovation projects in İstanbul were just limited with the Historical Peninsula; therefore, the development process of Cihangir lost acceleration accordingly (Uysal, 2008). Till the 1950s, there had been mixed population structure but in time the mixed character of the neighborhood disappeared. Cihangir's social structure became less diverse after the 1950s (Sasanlar, 2006).

As a result of harsh political decisions, the composition of population went through a considerable change. Starting from the 1930s, the multi-cultural identity of Cihangir started to disappear as minorities moved out (İlkuçan, 2004). It was a shift from multi ethnic Ottoman Empire to a nation state (Sasanlar, 2006). First of all with the Wealth Tax policy in 1942, due to discriminatory tax rates between Muslims and non-Muslims Cihangir as being a neighborhood where non-Muslim population was majority lost its original population structure. During her researches and interviews, Sasanlar (2006) found out that wealthier non-Muslim population of Cihangir who were working in Beyoğlu and living in Cihangir affected by the wealth tax. Then in 1948, with the establishment of Israel most of the Jews left Turkey. Later in 1955, the September Events occurred. As having a dense Rum population Cihangir was also subjected to attacks and affected by the events that aimed non-Muslims. Sasanlar (2006) noted that the events erupted first near İstiklal Street and from there it spread neighborhoods where Greeks were living. The streets of Cihangir, Fırzağa, Tarlabası, Talimhane, and Karaköy were damaged and the houses and shops of Greeks were demolished. The September Events was the breaking point for the Greek population in Cihangir. After the Events of 6-7 September, many non-Muslims started to leave the country gradually and the demographic structure was affected seriously. According to the study of Sasanlar (2006), it was emphasized that abandonments did not happen all at once but within the following years gradually. After the events, a small part of non-Muslims remained in Cihangir. Then in 1964,

the tension between Greece and Turkey increased related to the Cyprus conflict. Once Turk and Greek convention was cancelled, Greeks left Turkey. According to Sasanlar (2006), although some non-Muslim residents of Cihangir left the neighborhood in former events, most serious depopulation in Cihangir occurred after the deportation of Greeks in 1964. In fact in 1974, related to the Turkish Invasion of Cyprus Greeks not only left the neighborhood but also the country.

At the end of 1950s, according as non-Muslims abandoned the neighborhood, Cihangir experienced the transformation process. Besides the residents who left the country, there were Muslims, Jews, Greeks, and Armenians who moved to other new popular settlements around the 1960s (Ergün, 2004). The middle class residents moved to other newly emerged suburban areas such as Ataköy and Levent related to rapid population expansion in the inner city and environmental pollution (İlkuçan, 2004). Most of the abandoned buildings were built by non-Muslim group and had an architectural value and identity. In the ongoing process till late 1980s, the abandoned vacant houses were settled by immigrants from Eastern Anatolia. Immigrants with low income levels led Cihangir to be neglected because new residents did not have enough income for maintenance costs. In the period between 1960s and 1980s, Cihangir was a place for low income groups and predominantly Muslims. In fact until the 1980s, Cihangir was disreputable as there were living transvestites and homosexuals (Ergün, 2004). However they later were forced to leave the neighborhood by the chief inspector of the era. Moreover once Bosphorus Bridge was completed in 1973, business centers shifted to Mecidiyeköy and prevented the development of Beyoğlu and its neighborhoods; accordingly, Cihangir became more neglected and dilapidated (Uysal, 2008). In other words, both spatial and social structure of Cihangir declined. In short, the İstanbul's cosmopolitanism changed its form after non-Muslim minorities left the country and Anatolians moved to the old city center instead (Sasanlar, 2006).

In the 1980s, the revitalization projects started during Bedrettin Dalan's mayoralty. In 1989 following the pedestrianization of İstiklal Street, Taksim and nearby places revived once again. Commercial activities increased and with the newly opened

cafés, restaurants, entertainment and culture places the identity of the district changed. Due to being close to the newly emerged center and its attractive location, Cihangir also became popular and gained importance again at the end of 1980s. At the beginning of 1990s, in parallel with increasing interest on the neighborhood, the population structure started to change. Cihangir was chosen for its architectural and environmental values by young professionals, writers, artists, academicians, and architects. They bought the houses at a cheap price and renovated them (Başyazıcı, 2012). The gentrification process in Cihangir has started during the 1990s; however, the process did not have a clear cut beginning. Currently even though Cihangir is less diverse in terms of ethnicity a small number of Greeks, Armenians, Jews, and Levantines are embraced within the neighborhood (Uysal, 2008).

3.5.3 Cihangir during the 1990s: The Gentrification Period

Cihangir from the 1960s to early 1990s was in decline. There were transvestites and homosexuals in the neighborhood; therefore, it was a “*black sheep*” neighborhood (Ergün, 2004). After the revitalization projects in Beyoğlu, Cihangir gained importance once again. In the early 1990s the gentrification period in Cihangir has started with the effect of revitalization projects. The early gentrification process in Cihangir compared to other gentrification examples in İstanbul shows more similarities with the foreign gentrification literature (Ergün, 2006). In the early 1990s, intellectuals, young professionals, writers, artists, academicians, and architects started to come to the neighborhood. According to Uzun (2000), an artist couple Beril and Oktay Anılanmert were the pioneers of the process who were scholars in Mimar Sinan Fine Arts University. The couple preferred the neighborhood to live in 1993 and renovated their new house by preserving its special characteristics. Other academicians from Mimar Sinan Fine Arts University also moved in at the same time period. Therefore it can be said that the neighborhood awakened academicians’ interest from Mimar Sinan Fine Arts University first. Later the same process was followed by other artists and academicians. Even though the popularity of the neighborhood was interrupted between 1960s and 1980s, Cihangir

started to become popular again with the increasing number of artists and interest of the media (Ergün, 2004).

Uysal (2008) mentions two main criterions that Cihangir had for the gentrification process which are social and spatial criterions. Within the context of social criterions as mentioned above, Cihangir was suitable for gentrifiers from a distinctive social and economic level. At the beginning the triggering reason behind was mostly related with spatial and physical factors. As the neighborhood is close to the city center within walking distance and easily accessible, the daily commute times of the residents decrease. Cihangir is very close to the liveliest center of İstanbul which is Taksim Square and İstiklal Street. Also Cihangir is close to the cultural and entertainment venues besides art activities and community facilities. In terms of transportation the neighborhood is advantageous as it is close to the tram line, metro station in the Taksim Square, and to the Karaköy and Kabataş quays. Also, urban facilities are well-equipped in the neighborhood and around. Furthermore, there are many universities around with architecture and fine arts faculties such as İstanbul Technical University, Mimar Sinan Fine Arts University, Yıldız Technical University, and Bilgi University. Moreover as being the former settlement of the non-Muslim minorities Cihangir has a substantial amount of building stock that majorly dates back to the 19th and 20th century, hence there are unique and characteristic architectural styles and the architectural value was also high. In fact, the building fabric is also appropriate for renovation. The location, natural amenities, and vistas and views also played a major role in gentrifiers' decision (Uysal, 2008). Therefore in terms of triggering factors, the early gentrification process in Cihangir overlaps with other Anglo-American examples.

During the gentrification process, the socio-demographic composition has changed (Uzun, 2000). The tenant immigrants who came to the neighborhood in its declining period could not afford the increasing prices. Therefore their displacement became inevitable. Besides socio-demographic and physical transformations, there appeared cultural transformations, too. While there was a distinctive neighborhood life in terms of the neighborhood structure and the facilities before the 1990s; after the

gentrification process the neighborhood has changed substantially. Both local and foreign visitors have started to come to the neighborhood for visiting (Başyazıcı, 2012). The process starting with the movement of the artists and academicians continued at a considerable pace in the following years (Ergün, 2004). Cihangir became a middle-upper class neighborhood (İslam, 2006).

In terms of spatial results of gentrification in Cihangir, Uysal (2008) stated that residential fabric was renovated radically. Problems related to safety and cleaning were solved substantially. Settled gentrifiers attracted capital to the neighborhood as they had new consumption demands. Their demands encouraged the investors in response to this. New consumption venues attracted others' interest towards Cihangir. Besides all these, property prices increased in Cihangir as the most typical result of gentrification. Uysal (2008) indicated that traditional shopkeepers by adapting to gentrification renewed themselves. Traditional stores could exist to the extent that they attracted new comers' attention. Uysal (2008) stated that Cihangir gained a new cultural identity following the gentrification process.

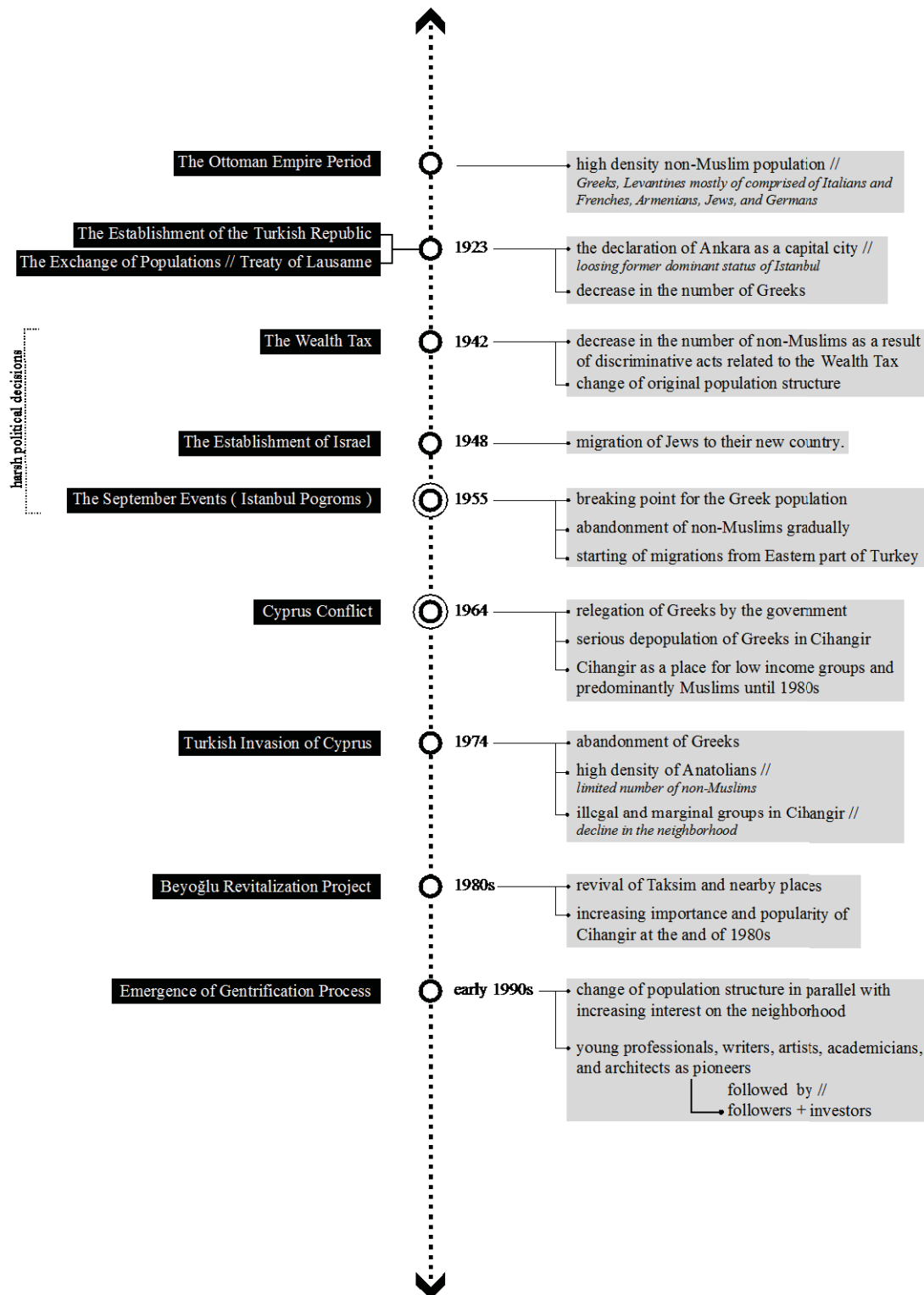


Table 3.2 The change of socio-demographic structure in Cihangir related to the harsh political actions and significant turning points

3.6 Who is the ‘Cihangirli’?

Cihangir witnessed significant demographic shifts through its history. Till the Republican History even though it represented multi religious and multi ethnic human fabric, after the establishment of Republic it started to change as a result of political actions and its structure started to be less diverse and the ethnic composition also got harmed. Between the 1960s and 1990s, Cihangir was in decline and its residents were mostly comprised of rural immigrants from Eastern Turkey, and prostitutes, transsexuals, gays, and illegal groups and drug dealers. After the revitalization projects in Beyoğlu, Cihangir gained importance once again. Once an artist couple moved to Cihangir, the gentrification process emerged in the neighborhood. People from the suburbs of İstanbul or from other districts have moved to Cihangir and pushed up property prices and rents by displacing many of the former residents out of Cihangir. The gentrification process was another breaking point that resulted in changes in socio-demographic structure. Gentrification resulted in not only physical changes but also socio- cultural changes in Cihangir (Sasanlar, 2006).

Currently besides all its physical advantages, the neighborhood may offer a diverse socio-demographic ground in the neighborhood. The residents of Cihangir are comprised of young professionals, writers, architects, artists, academicians, students as mostly apartment-sharers, people from FIRE sectors, no child two income couples, and so on (Ergün, 2006). As Cihangir has a unique neighborhood structure and it has become more preferable, the neighborhood has also started to be visited by both foreign and local visitors.

Before mentioning about qualitative characteristics of the residents, it is necessary to provide a statistically proven argumentation basis and a quantitative neighborhood profile representing general socio-demographic trends in Cihangir. Therefore in order to investigate who Cihangirli is first by quantitative data retrieved from Turkish Statistical Institute and then relevant academic studies on the socio-demographic structure of the neighborhood will be elaborated.

3.6.1 General Quantitative Data

First of all, according to the address based population registration system results between the years of 2000 and 2014, the population change of Cihangir is examined. Based on the recent population data of Turkish Statistical Institute, the population of Cihangir in 2014 was 3658 people.

Year	2000	2007	2008	2009	2010	2011	2012	2013	2014
The Population of Cihangir	4252	3641	3714	3662	3722	3774	3653	3658	3761

Table 3.3 The population change of Cihangir (TÜİK)

Based on census data, it can be seen that the population of Cihangir has both population rise and population loss from 2000 to 2014. Therefore it can be said that the population change in the neighborhood was not completely stabile. Moreover, the household size in 2012 was 1634. Also, in 2012 the number of married people (aged 15 and over) was 1240; while the number of unmarried people was 1217. Also the number of divorced people was 403 and the number of widowed people was 178. Furthermore, with regard to the population by five-year age groups from 2000 to 2012, it can be seen that the share of population under 18 years has been radically decreasing; while the share of people aged 20-34 had increased from 2010 to 2012.

Age Group	Year / Person						
	2000	2007	2008	2009	2010	2011	2012
0-4	155	144	136	145	135	119	117
5-9	165	112	109	133	123	140	121
10-14	173	163	146	142	142	131	110
15-19	254	154	154	151	141	146	145
20-24	499	294	300	271	258	250	236
25-29	550	411	445	430	417	444	539
30-34	447	396	421	440	485	472	431
35-39	377	368	392	378	392	417	382
40-44	323	305	320	330	333	343	345
45-49	245	258	287	271	238	283	260
50-54	253	260	254	238	245	248	224
55-59	179	175	192	180	196	201	198
60-64	174	144	143	153	167	166	144
65+	456	457	415	400	405	414	401

Table 3.4 Five-year age groups in Cihangir (Kınacı, 2014; TÜİK)

	20-24	25-29	30-34	Total Young Population	Total Population in Cihangir	The Ratio of Young Population
2000	499	550	447	1496	4252	35,18
2009	271	430	440	1141	3662	31,16
2010	258	417	485	1160	3722	31,17
2011	250	444	472	1166	3774	30,90
2012	236	539	431	1206	3653	33,01

Table 3.5 The ratio of young population in Cihangir (Kınacı, 2014)

Also, highest level of education attainment in Cihangir is examined. It is seen that the rate of higher educated people (bachelor's degree or higher) has increased

compared to the total population of the neighborhood from 2008 to 2011; while the rate of people with less than high school attainment has decreased over the years.

	2008	2009	2010	2011
Illiterates	64	60	54	39
Elementary School	485	475	399	339
Primary School	161	156	209	226
Secondary School	174	163	177	163
High School	855	825	852	820
Higher Education	999	1036	1098	1168
No formal education	279	283	278	256
Unknown	376	336	360	342

Table 3.6 Highest level of education attainment in Cihangir (Kınacı, 2014)

	Population of Higher Educated People	Population of Cihangir	Higher Education Rate
2008	999	3714	26,90
2009	1036	3662	28,29
2010	1098	3722	29,50
2011	1168	3774	30,95

Table 3.7 The ratio of higher educated people in Cihangir (Kınacı, 2014)

3.6.2 Relevant Academic Literature

First of all, Uzun (2001) studies Cihangir, Çukurcuma, Kuzguncuk, and İcadiye as examples of gentrified neighborhoods in her dissertation. She conducts a field survey in order to observe the dynamics of gentrification in the selected neighborhoods. Two qualitative data collection methods are used which are open-ended interviews and questionnaires. The objective of the asked questions is to clarify the specific

aspects of the gentrification process. Uzun (2001) aims to provide general information about the economic, demographic, and cultural background of the gentrifiers and the structure of the selected neighborhoods. A wide variety of interviewees are chosen according to their roles in the gentrification process such as real estate agents, residents, researchers, head officers, planners, and local organizations.

Cihangir as an old residential quarter of the city has significant signs of gentrification (Uzun, 2001). According to the studies of Uzun (2001), gentrifiers are indicated mostly as professionals and members of the highly educated new middle class. They mostly come from inner city areas and they are relatively affluent. Uzun (2001) pays attention to socio-cultural aspects besides the demographic and economic profiles of the gentrifiers. Within the frame of demographic profile, Uzun (2001) searches the household composition, migration patterns, and educational level and foreign language proficiency. In order to discuss the economic profile, employment structure, employment status of household heads, and occupation of household heads are examined. For physical and spatial profile exploration, building types, number of floors, year of moving to the apartment, reason to choose the neighborhood, the person the apartment is bought from, and previous ownership of the apartment are searched. In order to investigate the lifestyle characteristics, frequency of watching several programs on television, frequently watched television channels, frequency of reading a newspaper, frequency of making collections, frequency of having someone to help with housework, rate of membership to an organization, frequency of attending social and cultural activities outside, place of shopping, presence of a friend or relative in the same apartment and neighborhood, and vacation places are examined.

According to the findings of Uzun in 2001, the average household size in Cihangir is found as 3 and both the average household size and number of children per household are comparatively low (1.1 children per household). While 26.3% of the interviewees were born in İstanbul; 73.7% were migrants. However it is seen that 59.5% of the migrants have actually moved to Cihangir from other urban centers.

Moreover, Uzun (2001) finds out that while 45.2% of the participants are university graduates; 23.8% of them are high school graduates, 9.5% of them are secondary school graduates, 16.7% of them are primary school graduates, and 4.8% of them are illiterates. Moreover, it is seen that nearly half of the household head and spouses have a good or fair knowledge of a foreign language (Uzun, 2001).

According to the economic profile findings, 36% of the respondents are white collar workers, 24% of the respondents are self-employed, 12% of them are employers, 12% of them are self-employed professionals (owners of small neighborhood shops or doctors, lawyers, and artists), 8% of the respondents are managers, and 8% of the respondents are blue collar workers. Uzun (2001) also classifies the jobs related to the arts, the professions, trades/artisanal occupations, clerical work, and blue collar jobs. Accordingly, more than half of the employed respondents are artists or have professional occupations (Uzun, 2001). Uzun (2001) also focuses on physical and spatial profile. According to the findings, environmental reasons are the major reasons to choose Cihangir to live in (57.5%); while accessibility to other places is the second reason (24%). With reference to the findings, Uzun (2001) indicates that the assumption of Cihangir is gentrified appears to be supported by all the evidence with respect to demographic, economic, and spatial factors.

According to the general results of the study of Uzun (2001), gentrified areas are inner city neighborhoods close to the city center. Gentrifiers are well educated, middle age professionals, managers, bureaucrats, and artist with nuclear families. In the gentrified neighborhoods new lifestyles are emerging and these new lifestyles are environmentally conscious which means the restructuring and conservation effort. The housing stock is changing and modernizing in Cihangir (Uzun, 2001).

Secondly, İlkuçan (2004) in his master's thesis portrays the social structure of Cihangir with two groups which are old residents and middle class gentrifiers. He defines old residents as leftovers from the middle class population dating back to 1970s and internal migrants from Anatolia. Middle class old residents actually have been residing more than two generations in Cihangir and even their birthplace is Cihangir. Many of them have their own apartments in fact with a sea view and they

are close to the southern parts of Cihangir (İlkuçan, 2004). On the other hand, working and lower class old residents are usually migrants from Anatolia and they usually live in the lower parts close to Tophane. They also have their own properties which were bought in the pre-gentrification period when prices were very low. The tenants on the other hand try to survive in the neighborhood in the face of very high prices. They are mostly pushed to back streets and to ground floors (İlkuçan, 2004). İlkuçan (2004) mentions about gentrifiers as a second social group. He resembles gentrifiers' characteristics to Ley's gentrifier definition (1996). Gentrifiers are mostly single or childless young couples, with university or higher degree, in white collar or creative jobs. First of all, pioneers in Cihangir are employed in the entertainment or cultural sectors and they have an important role in the gentrification processes. Also students of Mimar Sinan Fine Arts University live in the neighborhood and they may remain in Cihangir. Also TV programmers in the neighborhood have an important effect. Towards the end of 1990s, the positive representation of the neighborhood has affected more new comers. As followers go on moving into Cihangir, prices also keep on rising. İlkuçan (2004) indicates that in the presence of increasing prices most of the pioneers are displaced or pushed to backstreets and lower floors. As a result of the findings of the study, İlkuçan (2004) asserts that regardless of the social structure the informants preferred Cihangir related to closeness to the center, attractiveness of the physical fabric, and the feeling of freedom shaped by socially diverse composition of Cihangir.

Moreover, Ergün (2006) categorizes people who prefer Cihangir into two groups. The first group prefers houses because of their architectural characteristics, location related to centrality, and environmental factors. Young urban professionals, writers, architects, artists, and academicians are in this group. They renovate the historical texture while protecting it. The people in the second group are investors who purchase houses with low costs, restore them and either sell or rent them. These both groups cause market prices to rise and the district to lose its unique attributes. Also, new trade activities start to take place in the district like cafés, restaurants, and hotels. According to Ergün (2006), during the 1990s a social conflict also took place

in the district and sub-communities were forced to leave the district after the social pressures they have faced.

Lastly, Uysal (2008) within the context of his master's thesis aims to handle the effects of gentrification in urban area by revealing demographic, professional, economic, and cultural status of the residents of Cihangir. As a result of his surveys, he aims to examine the participants' evaluation of the neighborhood and the participants' evaluation of their life in the neighborhood in order to have a better understanding of the process. Participants are selected completely in proportion to the neighborhoods' general situation in terms of age and sex and surveys are conducted as one to one meetings. Uysal (2008) categorizes the data collected in the survey under the five headings namely respondents' personal information, professional status, neighborhood and daily life activities and hobbies, and participation. Surveys are conducted with 227 people between the ages of 18 and 65 in Cihangir (Uysal, 2008).

According to the study of Uysal (2008), 45.8% of the participants are male; while 54.2% of them are female. Moreover, while 51.1% of the respondents' birth place is İstanbul; 48.9% of it is other metropolitan cities mostly Ankara, İzmir, Bursa, and Adana. Also, 64.3% of respondents are single and 35.7% of them are married. This rate actually overlaps gentrifiers' young and childless profile (Uysal, 2008). Respondents' education level is also very high according to the findings. 19.4% of respondents have master's degree, 52.9% of them have bachelor's degree, 18.1% of them are high school graduates, and %1.8 of the respondents are primary schools graduates. Respondents' occupations are categorized as self-employed (shops and small-sized enterprise owners), professionals (white collars like medical doctors, lawyers, managers, academics, and academicians), blue collar workers, craftsmen, housewives, students, unemployed, and others. The majority of respondents are constituted by professionals and this is an indicator of the dominance of new middle class and relatedly an indicator of gentrification (Uysal, 2008).

According to the survey of Uysal conducted in 2008, respondents mostly prefer Cihangir related to its central location (67%), closeness to the work place (34.4%),

and social relations (30.4%). On the other hand, expensiveness (60.3%) and noise pollution (31.3%) are seen as the disadvantages of Cihangir by the respondents (Uysal, 2008). Moreover, Uysal (2008) also searches the property status of the respondents. 24.2% of participants are home owners; while the rest of the respondents are tenants. The question on where leisure times are spent is answered by 62.1% of residents by in Cihangir. Hence it can be said that residents form their social network in the neighborhood. Moreover, the question on the membership to NGOs reveals a distinctive characteristic of Cihangir's residents. Uysal (2008) indicates that in neighborhoods where gentrification emerges, the formation of NGOs and being organized towards conversation and improvement of the district's significance is a common fact. With regards to this, Uysal (2008) reveals that Cihangir has three times more ratio than the standards of Turkey. 30% of the respondents are members of NGOs and 33.5% of the respondents state that they follow the activities of the Cihangir Beautification Association. On the other hand, only 3 respondents (1.3%) indicate that they participate the council meeting of the Beyoğlu Municipality (Uysal, 2008).

Uysal (2008) aims to examine the spatial and social criterions of gentrification in Cihangir with the field study. He asserts that within the spatial context the presence of these criterions are obvious in Cihangir such as historical buildings and central location. According to Uysal (2008), in terms of social aspects, the identity of Cihangir has remarkably changed for last 15 years. Majority of respondents are comprised of professionals carrying characteristics of new middle class in terms of economic, social, and cultural basis. This has triggered the economic, social, and cultural development accordingly. Uysal (2008) asserts that gentrification in Cihangir took place at the cost of displacement of former residents by gentrifiers. The evaluations and data obtained via surveys verify the fact that the process holding on in Cihangir is a gentrification process (Uysal, 2008).

3.7 The Boundaries of Cihangir

Cihangir is settled in the European side of İstanbul and it is one of the most distinctive neighborhoods of Beyoğlu. The neighborhood is located in an elevated position overlooking the Bosphorus and the Golden Horn. There are very characteristic narrow streets in the neighborhood; however, the major streets are Siraselviler Street, Akarsu Street, and Cihangir Street (Uysal, 2008). Cafés, restaurants, shops, and stores are densely located in Siraselviler and Akarsu Street. Cihangir starts from the intersection of Siraselviler Street which reaches to Taksim Square and Kazancı Street in the North. It is surrounded by Kazancı Street in the East, and Siraselviler Street in the West. In the South, Cihangir reaches down to Meclis-i Mebusan Street to Tophane, Fındıklı, and Salıpazarı on the European shore of the lower Bosphorus. It means that Cihangir takes place between Galata, Beyoğlu, and Tophane (Sasanlar, 2006).

However as distinct from the administrative borders of the neighborhood, Cihangir is felt wider than its actual area. For instance, even though Defterdar Street is not a part of Cihangir, it is perceived and thought to be a part of the neighborhood. Even the Cihangir Mosque is not inside the administrative borders of the neighborhood. Therefore the perception of people and the real borders are different. For instance, during the fieldworks many people defined the borders of Cihangir till the German Hospital on the North, till the Italian Hospital on the South, till Pürtelaş Street on the East, and till Çukurcuma on the West. Also many defined it as an area between Tophane and İstiklal Street.



Figure 3.5 The location of Cihangir

Cihangir has many unique views and it presents unique panoramas. The unique location along the Bosphorus and the impressive vistas and views including the Bosphorus, the Historical Peninsula, Üsküdar and Salacak on the Anatolian shore, the Maiden Tower on the Marmara Sea, even the Prince Islands in a clear weather are regarded as the unique and distinctive features of Cihangir. Its critical location enables the views of İstanbul both from Ottoman and Byzantine times (Sasanlar, 2006).

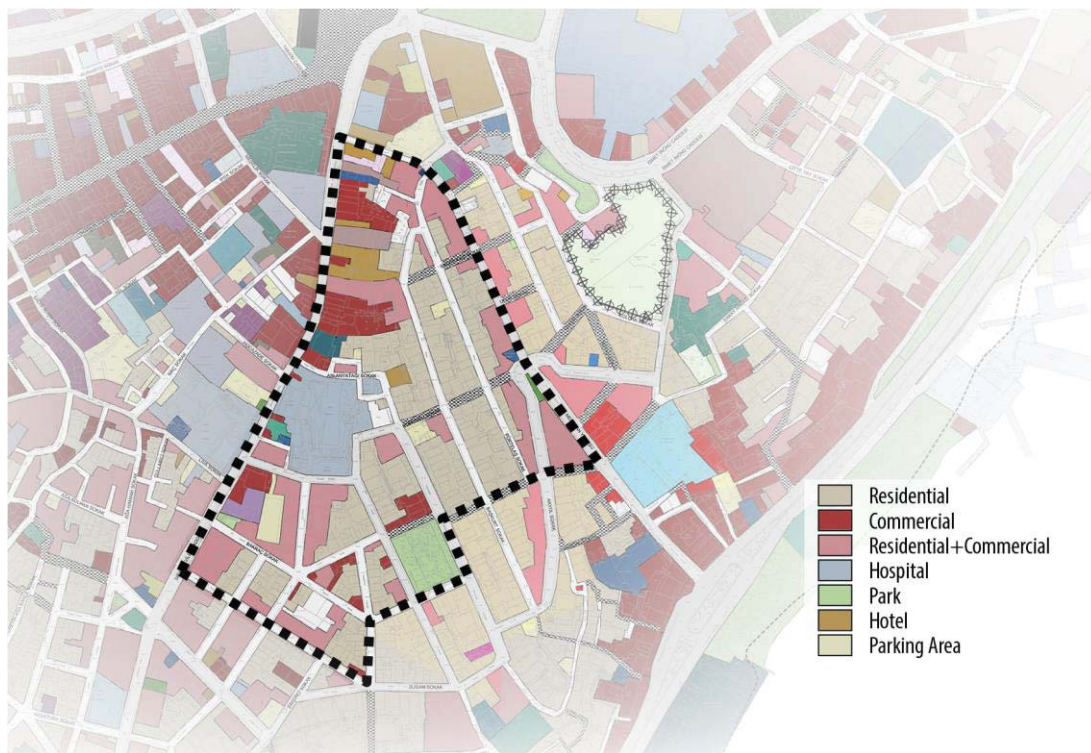


Figure 3.6 Land-use map of Cihangir (Beyoğlu Municipality, 2011)

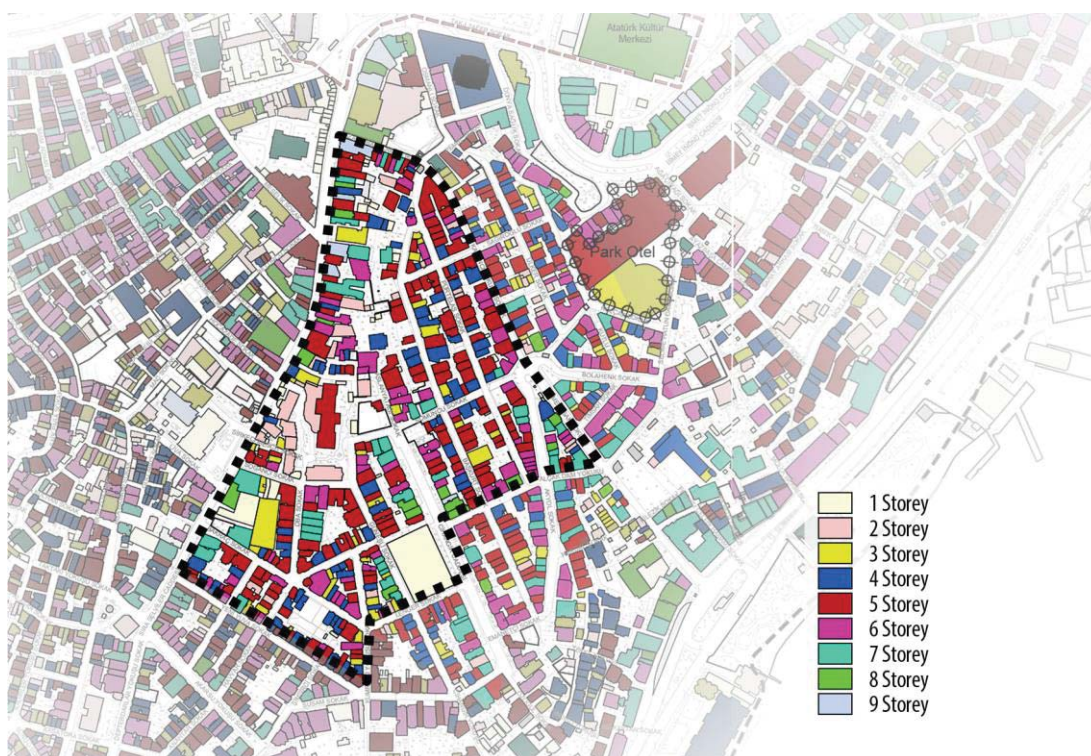


Figure 3.7 Numbers of storey analysis (Beyoğlu Municipality, 2011)

3.8 Nodes of Cihangir

Cihangir has changed greatly over the past 20 years. Currently it has a cozy and relatively self-contained environment and the neighborhood not only accommodates its residents but also hosts many visitors every day as it is rich in commercial and entertainment venues besides open public spaces. Both residents and visitors densely use those attraction points.

First of all Cihangir is well-known with the Firuzağa Square which actually takes its name from the Firuzağa Mosque. The primary meeting point in the neighborhood is Firuzağa Square and the café adjacent to the mosque. In Cihangir mostly ground floors of the buildings are used for commercial activities; while upper floors are residential mostly on the streets close to the Firuzağa Square. As being the main axis of the neighborhood Akarsu Street and Siraselviler Street are the liveliest streets in Cihangir with regards to commercial activities and entertainment venues. Also there are two important hospitals namely Taksim Emergency Hospital and German Hospital on Siraselviler Street which connects Cihangir and Taksim Square to each other. Furthermore there are Cihangir Park and Roma Park which are also used by visitors.

Lately there is a significant change in commercial activities in the neighborhood. There are numerous cafés and restaurants currently. In fact commercial activities are increasing in number in recent years and they form the new face of the neighborhood. Besides new cafés and restaurants, there are also rooted shops such as Atakan Variety Store, Özkonak Restaurant, Elvan Patisserie, Asri Pickle Store, and Yılmaz Greengrocer et cetera. All these meeting and networking places are effective for both social and physical identity of Cihangir.

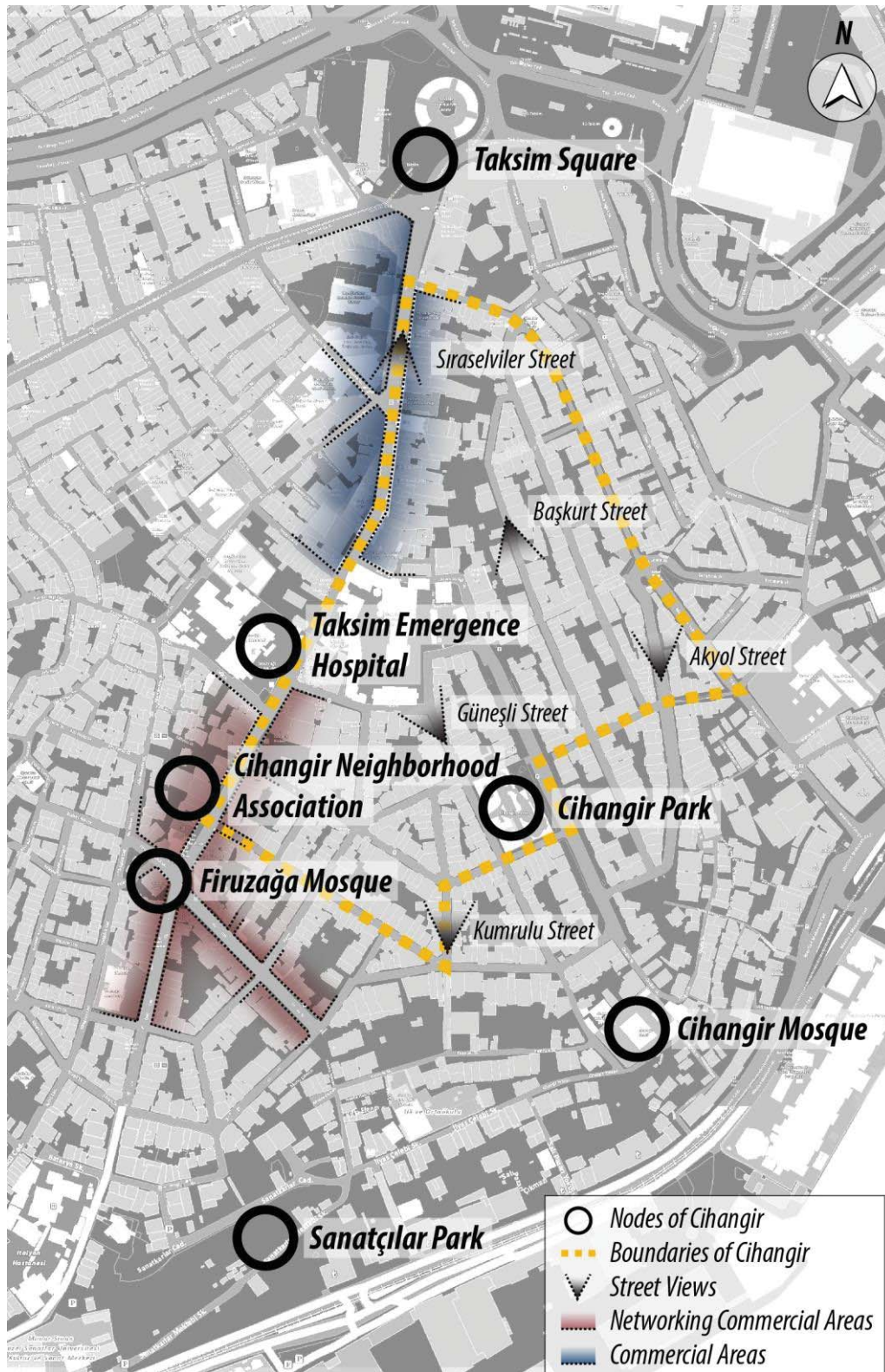


Figure 3.8 Nodes of Cihangir

3.8.1 Taksim Square

Taksim was originally the point in İstanbul, where the main water line from north of İstanbul collected, and branched off to other parts of the city. The first building in the Taksim was built in the Mahmut I Era in 1731 in order to store and distribute the water to the city. The Turkish meaning of distribution is “*taksim*”. Therefore the name Taksim is coming from the usage of this building. Another important and symbolic building in Taksim is the Monument of Republic that was built by the Italian sculptor P. Canonica in 1928. This monument and its surrounding area grew in importance by hosting the ceremonies of Republic and accordingly Taksim became a center for İstanbul in time (Gürsel, 2012).



Figure 3.9 Taksim Square in old times
(Teknolojik-blog, 2014)



Figure 3.10 Taksim Square today
(Arkitera, 2014)

The Topçu Artillery Barracks on the North of the square which had not been used since World War I were demolished by the order of İstanbul’s governor Lütü Kırdar. Then in the master plan of Henry Prost, a green valley which also included demolished area of the Barracks in Taksim has been foreseen from Dolmabahçe to Maçka. As a part of this master plan Taksim Gezi Park was constructed on the site of the Barracks. In the following years this area gained an identity as a social center for citizens. Also with the master plan, different districts of İstanbul were connected to the Taksim Square via new constructed intra-city transportation roads. These are the

Republic Avenue from Şişli, the Gümüşsuyu Avenue from Dolmabahçe, and the Mete Avenue from Maçka - Nişantaşı to Taksim (Gürsel, 2012).

In the 1980s, the mayor Bedrettin Dalan came up with a revitalization project for Beyoğlu district. Within the context of the project, İstiklal Street was pedestrianized and to solve traffic problems arising from the pedestrianization a new road was constructed namely the Tarlabası Boulevard.

Currently, it is surrounded by a water reserve tank stone building on the East side, by Atatürk Cultural Center on the West, İnönü Park on the North and the Marmara Hotel with twenty six floors on the South side (Erem and Şener, 2007). On the other hand, İstiklal Street is a pedestrianized long shopping street which starts with Taksim Square. A nostalgic tram runs from the square along the İstiklal Street and ends next to the Tunnel which is the world's second oldest subway line.



Figure 3.11 İstiklal Street in old times
(Hayalleme, 2015)



Figure 3.12 İstiklal Street today
(Hayalleme, 2015)

Sıraselviler Street

Besides being the major road that connects Cihangir to Taksim Square, Sıraselviler Street is one of the liveliest streets of the neighborhood. The street down towards the neighborhood is lined with restaurants, cafés, markets and it reaches to the Firuzağa Square.



Figure 3.13 Siraselviler Street in old times (Mezatpazarı, 2014)



Figure 3.14 Siraselviler Street today (Yandex Maps, 2014)

3.8.2 Taksim Emergency Hospital

One of the important public facilities of Cihangir is Taksim Emergency Hospital which came into service in 1969 (Ministry of Health Turkish Public Hospitals Institution, 2014). Before the old hospital building was demolished it had been used as a home of Catholic Monastery nuns before World War I and then as a nursing home for homeless people. Later Beyoğlu Municipality Zükur Hospital (The Hospital of Men's) was evacuated to the building of Taksim Hospital from Şişli and came into service. In 1948-1949, the Hospital of Men's moved near to Kuledibi Hospital and the building was bought by the Ministry of Health. Under the Ministry, new clinics and departments were opened in time and the hospital was developed as a qualified hospital (Ministry of Health Turkish Public Hospitals Institution, 2015).

For the Taksim Emergency Hospital, a new regeneration project was prepared last year. Till last year the hospital was out of use in order to be renovated. The Ministry of Health has prepared a project which is approved by the Council (Beyoğlu Conservation Plan – The Neighborhood Associations Report, 2015). In the regeneration project, a large one building was designed. Additional development rights were proposed and ratio of the floor area was increased. Even though maximum floor number was defined as 5 for the hospital parcel in the plan, it was increased to 7 floors in the project. Therefore the project was not even suitable to the plan. İstanbul Historical and Cultural Heritage Conservation Board issued a negative opinion on the new project due to the disregard of the neighborhood's authenticity.

The project was not in accordance with the construction rights in the historical area and with the unique urban fabric of the neighborhood. Also it was not convenient with open space limits (Beyoğlu Semt Dernekleri Çalışma Raporu, n.d.). Approval of the Board was required for the implementation of the project in the historical and cultural heritage conservation areas. The council had a consensus for a layout where the hospital buildings were generally small and scattered. Cihangir Beautification Association had cooperation with the Chamber of Medical Doctors to publicize the new regeneration projects. Currently, it has been announced that the project will be re-evaluated.



Figure 3.15 Taksim Emergency Hospital before demolishment (Mimari Portal, 2014)



Figure 3.16 Reactions of the residents to the regeneration project (www.halkevleri.org.tr, 2014)

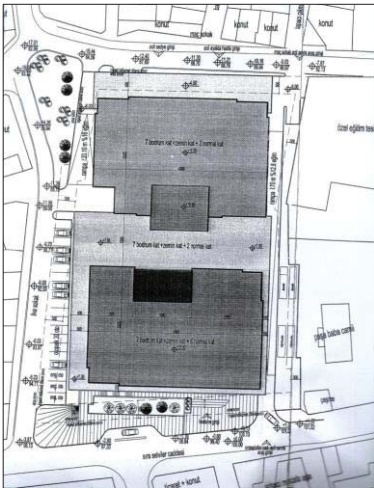


Figure 3.17 The plan and the section of the new project (Beyoğlu Semt Dernekleri Çalışma Raporu, n.d.)

Güneşli Street



Figure 3.18 Güneşli Street in an old Turkish movies and in 2012 (Cihangir ve Eski Cihangirliler Facebook Group, 2014)

3.8.3 The Cihangir Park

The Cihangir Park was created as a playground after its parcel was donated by Nuri Demirağ in 1938. The park served its purpose until 1983, when a parking garage was constructed as an underground parking area. This caused damage of the trees and many were cut. In 1995, Cihangir Beautification Association was established to develop a renewal project for the Cihangir Park. The members of the association applied to the Beyoğlu Municipality for their renewal project. The municipality supported the project. Architects and landscape architects who were also the residents of Cihangir prepared the project. In the neighborhood, some parties were organized with the participation of the neighborhood entrepreneurs, residents and local officers. The project was completed with a coalition. An opening ceremony for the Cihangir Park was organized. The mayor of the İstanbul Metropolitan Municipality of the period, Tayyip Erdoğan (the current President), the Head of the association, and the members of Beyoğlu District Association participated in the opening ceremony. It was a joint project and a good example of collaboration

between local government, NGOs, and civil society. In 2004, another renewal process took place in the park with the efforts of the neighborhood association.



Figure 3.19 The Cihangir Park in 1970s (Cihangir ve Eski Cihangirliler Facebook Group, 2014)



Figure 3.20 Before the construction of parking area and İspark Parking Area at present (Cihangir ve Eski Cihangirliler Facebook Group, 2014)

In 2010 the İstanbul Metropolitan Municipality transferred the management rights of the parking area under the Cihangir Park to the sub-organization of the Municipality, İspark. The park was renewed. The asphalt area in the park was enlarged. Some trees and plants were cut. This new project was not supported by the residents of Cihangir. They showed their reactions, carrying the placards and complained the noise and dust of the construction.

Currently there is still a parking area of İspark and also an art gallery of the Beyoğlu Municipality in the same building. In the art gallery there are weekly Municipality Meetings with residents to listen their complaints and requests in the context of the public council meetings. It provides collaboration for a distinct group.



Figure 3.21 The Cihangir Park at present (www.parkour-spot.com, 2014)

Başkurt (Sormagir) Street

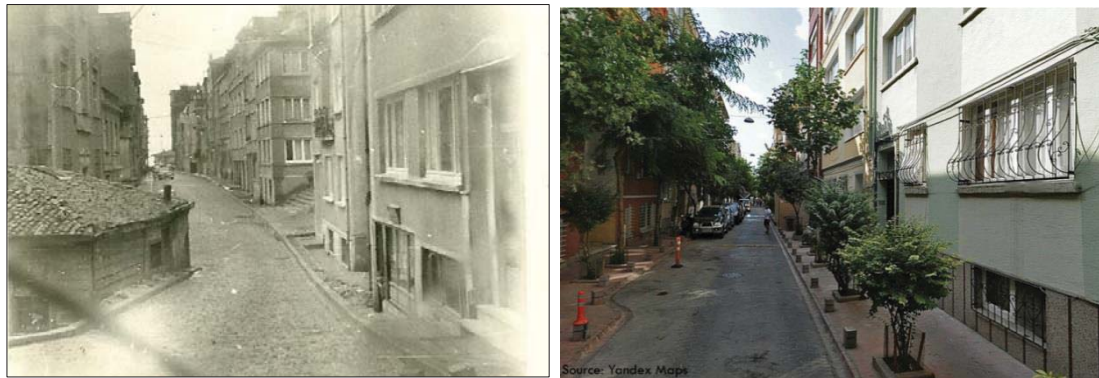


Figure 3.22 The view from Başkurt Street before and after (Cihangir ve Eski Cihangirliler Facebook Group, 2014)

3.8.4 The Cihangir Mosque

Cihangir means "*conqueror*" in Turkish. The neighborhood's name comes from the Cihangir Mosque which was built in 1559 on top of a hill. The mosque and the neighborhood were named after the death of Sultan's Son Cihangir. His father had

Architect Sinan build a wooden mosque there overlooking the Bosphorus to commemorate his early death. Once the Mosque was named as Cihangir Mosque, the area also started to be called as Cihangir and the settlement had started to be shaped around the mosque in time.



Figure 3.23 The Cihangir Mosque in 1880s (Cihangir ve Eski Cihangirliler Facebook Group, 2014)



Figure 3.24 The Cihangir Mosque at present (Mustafa Cambaz, 2014)

Cihangir Mosque had suffered six fires and it was renewed each time. The first one was in 1719 and unluckily there occurred several others. The current mosque was built in 1889 by Abdul Hamid II (Envanter, 2014). Although not yet certain, the current mosque was built by Armenian architect Sarkis Balyan. The current mosque looks like the ones at Ortaköy and Dolmabahçe. There is not much information about the original form of the mosque. It can be seen from a drawing from 1580 that the mosque had wooden hip roof and one minaret (Beyoğlu Municipality, 2015). The current mosque is a square volume structure with one dome and two minarets which has an architectural typology that was formed from the middle of 19th century. The dome seats on four large arches and these arches are filled with flabellate windows and undermost arched windows are arrayed (Beyoğlu Municipality, 2015).

While the original building has lost much of its charm, the courtyard of Cihangir Mosque has still the best views over the İstanbul Strait, as well as Historical Peninsula and the Maiden's Tower, and even Prince Islands in a clear day. Massive

piles made from timber were used in the foundations of the mosque in order to absorb the impact of earth tremors (The Ministry of Culture, 2014). The massive piles were located in a few levels from the mosque to the strait. Therefore, it is critical to construct new buildings on the hillside of the Bosphorus.

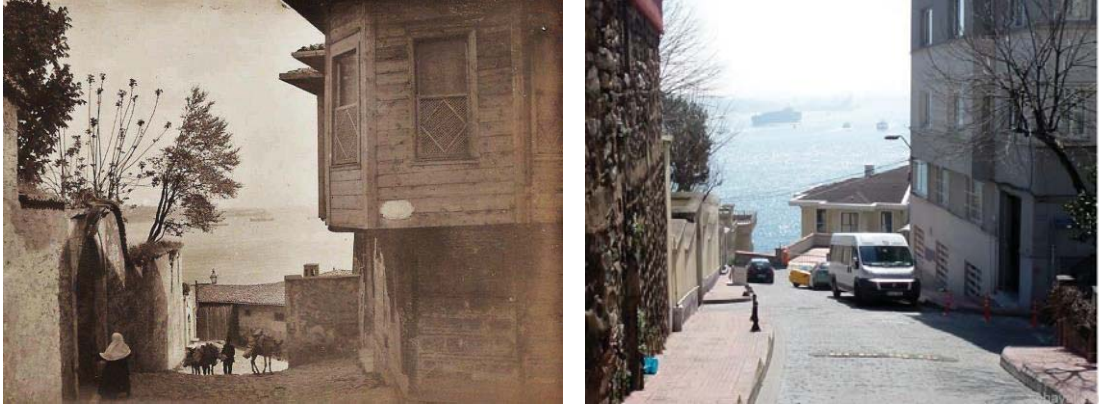


Figure 3.25 The view from Samanyolu Street next to the Cihangir Mosque before and after (Cihangir ve Eski Cihangirliler Facebook Group, 2014)

However in 1997, a development plan of a building that blocks the view from the courtyard was approved by the Beyoğlu Municipality. A geo-technical report was prepared as the request of Cihangir Beautification Association. The report pointed out the risks of a new construction to damage the massive piles of the mosque. The association applied to the court for the cancel of the development plan and the plan was cancelled. However later, another development plan that allowed the construction of three floor building was approved by the Municipality.

Akyol Street



Figure 3.26 The View from Akyol Street in 1955 (Cihangir ve Eski Cihangirliler Facebook Group, 2014)



Figure 3.27 The View from Akyol Street in today (Yandex, 2015)

3.8.5 The Sanatçılar Park

The Sanatçılar Park (the Artists' Park) that was called as Roma Garden before was a residential area. In 1919, after a big fire, the area had been completely destroyed. Later then, the area had been transferred to the municipality from public treasury on the condition that it would be used as a green area. It was put an annotation onto the title deed that if the area was not used as a green area, it would be taken by public treasury again. This historic Roma Garden which people also were used to call the fire place related with the big fire was used for daily local entertainment activities in the past. Today it is known as the Sanatçılar Park and mostly the park is known for the famous stairs next to it.



Figure 3.28 Sanatçılar Park in old times and today (Cihangir ve Eski Cihangirliler Facebook Group, 2014)



Figure 3.29 The same perspective from the stairs in old times and at present (Hayalleme, 2015)

Mostly young residents and visitors of Cihangir spend time in the Sanatçılar Park today. Sanatçılar Park also welcomed the first four Paz-Art (Art-Market) Events were led by Cihangir Beautification Association. Unique and high quality design products were sold and exhibited during the Paz-Art Events.

3.8.6 Firuzağa Square

The most popular attraction point in Cihangir is Firuzağa Square which actually takes its name from the Firuzağa Mosque. The square is located next to the two-storey Firuzağa Mosque which was built by Sultan Bayezid II's treasurer Firuz Aga. Also the café on the square is quite popular. It is on the ground floor of the mosque and there is even a coffin rest area which is in the middle of the café. During the 1980s Firuzağa Café was used as a coffeehouse which was a rare thing at that time. However after the beginning of gentrification process in the early 1990s, this place has started to be preferable. New cafés, pubs were opened around it; however, Firuzağa Café has never lost its popularity. This simple and modest café is always full of people during the day and a source of inspiration for its regulars such as writers, cartoonists, poets, and performers. Currently, it is the symbol of Cihangir. Firuzağa Square and Firuzağa Café are the primary meeting points in Cihangir. Both residents and visitors prefer to meet in the Firuzağa Square.



Figure 3.30 The Firuzağa Mosque and the café in old times (Cihangir ve Eski Cihangirliler Facebook Group, 2014)



Figure 3.31 The Firuzağa Mosque and the café at present (www.keyfiyazilarim.com, 2014)

Kumrulu Street



Figure 3.32 The view from Kumrulu before and after (Cihangir ve Eski Cihangirliler Facebook Group, 2014)

3.8.7 The Cihangir Beautification Association

The Cihangir Beautification Association was founded in 1995 with the aim of conserving Cihangir as a neighborhood with its authenticity and the unique structure of the buildings with the majority of its members comprised of architects and professionals living in Cihangir (Ergün, 2004). Following the municipal elections in 1994, the municipality workers started to paint the border stones of Cihangir Street in green and the residents reacted to it. They then decided to set up an organization to show their reaction and have started to design some projects for the neighborhood. After the establishment of the association, organizations were made in a collective basis rather than an individual basis (Ergün, 2004). In 1999, when Kadir Topbaş became a mayor, many projects were implemented in collaboration with the Beyoğlu Municipality. First, a traffic plan was prepared to solve the traffic problems in the neighborhood. Some streets have become one-way roads with the plan. Also, planting works were completed. All trees, street lightings, and paving stones were renewed again in collaboration with the municipality.

Currently, the main goal of the association is to conserve Cihangir as a neighborhood with its authenticity. The activities for the conservation of the historical buildings in the neighborhood and limiting the interventions to their physical structures are other goals regarding Cihangir. In efforts to improve the living environment, the

association encourages community participation. They also file a claim for potential threats to physical and social environment (İlkuçan, 2004). The association also attempts to publicize the news of projects regarding Cihangir and form a pressure group to take part in the decision-making process of projects and to produce some solutions for issues related to development of the neighborhood. Previously they also had a monthly journal called “*Cihangir Postası*”. The association also organizes cultural activities in collaboration with other neighborhood associations. The association works with other neighborhood associations in Beyoğlu in collaboration. The Cihangir Beautification Association also leads and becomes an inspiration to other neighborhoods in other districts with their organizational success. However the relations with the current municipality are not affirmative.

Generally, the association is not against gentrification; however, there are some complaints and actions on short-term renting after the transformation of some buildings or flats returning to apart-hotels. The regeneration activities gained an organized structure with the positive impacts of the association (Ergün, 2004). Owing to the neighborhood association, Cihangir regained a positive image both for physical and social composition (İlkuçan, 2004).

3.8.8 Cafés of Cihangir

Currently Cihangir gets more popular and fashionable day by day. There are countless cafés, bars, and restaurants in the neighborhood with distinct characteristics. In fact after the gentrification process, the cafés and other entertainment venues have increased in number radically in Cihangir. Today Cihangir is mostly known with its coffee shops. Even some of İstanbul’s trendiest and very popular cafés are located in the neighborhood. Therefore all these “*third places*” of Cihangir are not only welcoming the neighborhood’s residents but also welcoming the local and foreign visitors. There is a great circulation in the neighborhood even at week days. Related to these cafés, the neighborhood is always active and lively. Another important point, about the cafés and venues of Cihangir is

that there is temporariness. Except some rooted shops, some of them are closing after a while and new shops are opening right after.



Figure 3.33 A café in Cihangir (Emine Yetişkul Şenbil photo archive)



Figure 3.34 A café in Cihangir (yepl.com, 2005)



Figure 3.35 A café in Cihangir (merlinandrebecca.blogspot, 2015)



Figure 3.36 A café in Cihangir (gurmerehberi, 2015)

CHAPTER 4

CASE STUDY

The classical gentrification literature represents the image of gentrifiers mostly referring to pioneers and gentrifiers. However with respect to recent debates on gentrification new socio-demographic definitions have emerged such as super gentrifiers, studentifiers, and creative class. In the light of new debates, it is important to investigate new social groupings with new factors namely diversity, tolerance, and personal network and meeting places which are designated during the literature review according to becoming prominent in new debates.

As Cihangir has witnessed gentrification processes during the early 1990s, it is appropriate to discuss these new gentrification debates in Cihangir. In this chapter interviews that are done in the district and their findings are elaborated. The new social groups in Cihangir are examined according to the factors of diversity, tolerance, and personal network and meeting places within this chapter.

4.1 Diversity

Diversity is the presence of people with different ethnicities, nations, ages, education levels, lifestyles, and socio-economic levels in an area and it provides a mixture of different groups of people. Since the beginning Cihangir has also accommodated many different nationalities and diverse groups in terms of nationality, income, age, education, and social class. The neighborhood has been known with its diverse and multi-ethnic

structure. After gentrification has emerged in the neighborhood during the early 1990s, new groups have started to move into Cihangir. Freeman (2006) asserts that gentrification brings people from different socio-economic backgrounds and mixes people with different norms and expectations. In other words, gentrification by means of the movement of new middle classes brings along diversity. In fact by including the new gentrification debates, there appear new groups in gentrified areas such as studentifiers, super gentrifiers, and creative groups beyond pioneers and followers anymore. In order to understand the diverse structure of the already gentrified neighborhood Cihangir, diversity is studied first.

First of all, during the in-depth interviews informants mostly mention about the old composition of Cihangir by emphasizing non-Muslim residents and the change of residents' profile in time especially after the departure of non-Muslim groups. One of the interviewees at the age of 50 who has been living in Cihangir since his birth mentions that Cihangir was one of the luxury neighborhoods of İstanbul where non-Muslims were living especially. It was a place where wealthy Armenians and Greeks were living and there were upper-crust people in Cihangir. He also adds that there are still minorities but they are few in number in the neighborhood. While leaving the neighborhood, minorities left all their goods and properties and those vacant buildings were later invaded informally. This has caused a change in residents' profile according to the interviewee and the population has also changed in this way. He thinks that once the value of everything has increased, Cihangir has started to become a meeting place. The participant looks for a mixed population just like in his childhood (Interview No.1). Another participant at the age of 52 who also has been living in Cihangir since birth states that:

“There were Jews and Greeks before. Cihangir was always a popular neighborhood. Then artists started to move in and foreigners also. Then many people started to buy houses from here. As Cihangir is the center, we have preferred to stay in here. I really like Cihangir. There are many facilities.”
(Interview No.2)

When the old composition is asked to old residents, they all mention the old composition and neighborhood's "*good old days*" with nostalgia. They all miss the neighborhood as how it was 40 or 50 years ago. They look for a diverse social structure and social mix. They talk nostalgically about the past when non-Muslims and Muslims lived together peacefully and respected each other. A participant at the age of 80 who moved to Cihangir in order to open a dry cleaning store 53 years ago and still lives in Cihangir tells that:

"I was a headman of the neighborhood for 20 years. Cihangir became my school. I always saw goodness and kindness from my friends. In here people always loved each other. Then Cihangir disrupted. Prostitutes invaded the neighborhood. We solved this problem hardly. Then transsexuals came to the neighborhood. We really did strived a lot and we have a real history in the neighborhood. There was a social mixture at that time. Cihangir was an extremely cosmopolite place. Kurds, Armenians, Turks we lived all together. We all loved each other. Greeks were very nice people but then they were gone. We were also connected with each other. Everybody was respectful to each other. I miss old days. Currently it is out of joint unfortunately. Current characters and the behaviors of young are abhorrent to us. It should be as it was before. I look for old and good people of our neighborhood." (Interview No.3)

Cihangir is defined as a cosmopolite place by most of the participants while explaining the composition of the neighborhood. Mainly old residents narrates that there was a social mixture and everybody was living in harmony with each other. Therefore old residents look for old multi-ethnic and multi-religious structure of the neighborhood. According to them before there was a social mixture and Cihangir was really cosmopolite. The culture of neighborhood and neighborhood relations seems to be lost. They also today look for social mixture and mixed population. Most of the old residents complain about the new composition however they do not think about moving somewhere else from Cihangir and it seems to be hard for them to leave Cihangir. For instance, when asked if they are interested in moving somewhere else in the future, the answers were mostly negative. Also the interviewee indicates

that he never thinks about moving from Cihangir ever. In fact, he responds the question by asking where he can find better neighborhood than Cihangir (Interview No. 3).

Correspondingly another septuagenarian participant who has been living in Cihangir since 1974 mentions that:

“There are free and intellectual people living in Cihangir. The neighbor relations are so strong. For instance we also keep in touch with some artists. We have relations with everybody. Cihangir is very beautiful neighborhood and I am so glad to live in here. In each street there is a history. There are good and historical mosques. Cihangir is close to everywhere such as the fish market and other markets. I have not seen anyone discussing in Cihangir until this time. Everyone gets along well with each other. I do not think about moving from Cihangir. In any other neighborhood, getting organized from the beginning and making new friends would not be easy. Cihangir is like my home now.” (Interview No.4)

On the contrary to the previous interviewee, he thinks that there are still strong neighborhood relations. About leaving the neighborhood, it can be said that there are both physical and social reasons behind his negative response. In fact, whether they complain the current situation of the neighborhood or not, they all feel connected to the neighborhood anyway. Also another interviewee at the age of 60 refers to similar points:

“Different ethnic groups lived together in this neighborhood. However after the year of 1974, especially Greeks were not able to hold here. They had to leave the Cihangir. They returned to their country or moved from the neighborhood. On the other hand, Cihangir is a different place. Existing residents are those who accept diversity and prefer neighborhood life. As in the past, different ethnic groups should live together. People who live in these buildings do not prefer sitting in front of the buildings. As a result, street life disappears. It

should look like the old Cihangir. However we do not think to move because people who got used to live here cannot give up.” (Interview No.5)

In the same way, another interviewee at the age of 59 who has moved into Cihangir during the early 1990s when the prices were quite low mentions that there were people who had to leave related to the pressures of the municipality and government. They were displaced with various reasons. He thinks that the mosaic structure should continue and there should be people who have a culture of living together again (Interview No.6).

In fact, whether old residents are glad with current composition or not, they obviously have an emotional commitment to their neighborhood. An interviewee about 60 years old who is one of the gentrifiers in Cihangir and an academician in Mimar Sinan Fine Arts University also emphasizes on social mixture:

“In general there are people with certain level of education, high intellectual level, and high incidence of using public spaces. Generally journalists, authors and novelists, also doctors, academicians, university graduates, and foreigners are dense in the neighborhood. There is a mixed population. However the ‘*mixity*’ is changing socially in time. Also it is changing spatially. In Çukurcuma side the income level was lower before. However now it has also resembled to Cihangir. In Cihangir there are all daily needs. As Cihangir was also close to Mimar Sinan Fine Arts University, it was a good choice for me to live in here. I believe in ‘*mixity*’ (social mix). There has to be a social mix. On the other hand, I do not need only cafés as being a resident. For instance our traditional bakery has transformed to *Komşu Fırın* (It is a popular bakery brand). I do not like this situation. I think the traditional ones should stay and resist.” (Interview No.7)

As being one of the first comers and gentrifiers, she actually looks for both socio-demographic and functional mixture. In other words, both social diversity and physical diversity are desired as Ley (1986) also asserts that gentrifiers look for certain attributes and one of those is diversity. Even though she came to the

neighborhood as a gentrifier, her life style and tastes does not fit with the new structure of the neighborhood anymore. She gives importance to traditional and old shops. She is also disturbed as the neighborhood is getting crowded and becoming too noisy and she thinks that Cihangir is a living space and there is a danger for residents (Interview No.7). In fact, it shows a tension between old residents and among new groups of the new residents. With respect to the gentrifier's ideas and attitudes, she actually may be resembled to the social preservationist of Brown-Saracino (2009). As mentioned before, social preservationists move near old residents in order to live in their authentic communities and they pay attention to preserve the authentic conditions very much. In fact, the new comers pose a threat for them (Brown-Saracino, 2009). Also the previous interviewee who moved into Cihangir during the early 1990s sees new comers as people who do not understand the city's identity come to Cihangir and consume it daily (Interview No.6). Therefore it can be seen that the early gentrifiers in the neighborhood do not share the same desires with the new comers anymore.

Another old resident participant at the age of 54 also mentions that as families left Cihangir, old activities have gone too. According to him, Cihangir has become like a "*caféland*" and there are many hotels right now. Therefore he is not glad with transforming commercial activities. He tells that he loved the quality life in Cihangir (Interview No.8). The same interviewee also indicates that Cihangir is so complicated to categorize right now and it is so cosmopolite. According to him, it is possible to see both head scarfed women and purple haired men in Cihangir. In fact, he thinks that Cihangir lost its quality and vision first after non-Muslims and then families left Cihangir. He in fact moved from Cihangir after the Gezi Events and he claims that he never thinks about coming back to Cihangir (Interview No.8). Also another "*follower*" interviewee at the age of 38 who has been living in Cihangir for 15 years reveals the tension between old and new residents while mentioning about the old composition with nostalgia:

"Cihangirli is a real bohemian, mostly tradesman of Beyoğlu and Karaköy, and doctors et cetera. Being a part of the neighborhood is totally different thing.

There are people that I know living in the Prince's Islands, in Thessaloniki. Greeks were excluded. If they had not been gone, everything would have been different. The image has changed. In the 2000s there were real *Cihangirlis* (People from Cihangir). Now most of them moved to seaside or another places. Some of them passed on. Now rents are so high. Wealthy people have started to live. Actors and actresses caused property prices to rise. Cihangir has become a mass housing area of actors. Therefore I am not glad with the current situation. I am in '*Tomorrow I can move from Cihangir!*' group. I just continue to leave in Cihangir because of my work place. I am a part of the 2000s *Cihangirlis*. I belong to the old part and below of the middle. The oldest residents in Cihangir are barbers, greengrocers." (Interview No.9)

Even he has been living in Cihangir not as long as other old residents but for 15 years; he also has emotional commitment to the old composition of Cihangir. However as he is not glad with the new composition of Cihangir, he does not hesitate over moving from Cihangir. An academician from Mimar Sinan Fine Arts University who lived in Cihangir between the years of 1992 and 1997 as a gentrifier also draws attention to the old composition and the change of the composition after the emergence of gentrification in Cihangir:

"The residents were mostly professionals and people with certain income group when I was living in Cihangir. The neighborhood was not suitable for families with children. Rents were economic before. As it was a place where a minority's culture was living densely in the former times, it was like Paris or Vienna in terms of ambience of the quarter. Everybody was greeting each other. Before the shops were original and there were many galleries in the streets. Once the media and the artists have started to come to the neighborhood, investors have come also. The property prices have increased and things have changed. The minorities were being excluded and also middle income groups were excluded. Actually related to property values middle income groups were excluded." (Interview No.10)

Just like previous gentrifier interviewees, he also points to changing structure of the neighborhood after the gentrification. Another 37 years old interviewee who has been living in Cihangir for 25 years mentions that even though there are many different groups, everybody gets along well:

“There are many distinct groups and fractions. There are not only television series’ actors and actresses. There are also conservatives and activists. However there is no incompatible and opponent structure. It was a neighborhood where you could find people like us. Still people are more or less the same however the neighborhood is becoming a touristic area. However it is a living space that we still feel comfortable.” (Interview No.11)

Similarly another septuagenarian interviewee who has been living in Cihangir for 30 years and has a greengrocer refers to same ideas:

“Cihangir is a very cosmopolitan place. There are people from every nation. Everybody is like a family. Cihangir is a real neighborhood and close to everywhere. It is a safe place. Both the tradesmen and the residents are so warm-blooded. Everybody knows each other. Cihangir is the most beautiful place of İstanbul. Once we came here it was a normal neighborhood. After 1995 cafés have started to be opened. There was just Özkönak Restaurant at that time. Non-Muslims were dense. Some of them moved to the luxury quarters of İstanbul; some of them returned back to their own country. There are very distinct people from distinct groups. However the general structure is comprised of social democrats. On the other hand there is no tension between social democrats and conservatives. There is no one excluded. Nobody interferes with anyone. In Cihangir nobody judges anyone.” (Interview No.12)

As mentioned above, he also emphasizes on the cosmopolite structure of Cihangir. According to him, there are neighborly relations and residents get on with each other. Additionally, on the contrary to some old residents, he is glad with the current composition of Cihangir.

Moreover when the new residents and old residents are asked, an academician in Kadir Has University who has been living in Cihangir since 2008 defines the residents in three groups which are old residents, young people, and foreign people:

“Old residents are one group. As the face of a changing world, they come from the behind. Young people who have creative, talented, and ambitious attitude may have some problems. They cannot set in one’s way. Generally they work at the film-production, subcontracting in advertising jobs (low paid, over-demanding jobs). Everything is shared. There is mandatory collective work. In addition to the groups listed above there are foreign people. There are a lot of schools for them. In addition, consulates, associations, and research companies et cetera are also available. This neighborhood is effective for foreign people and creative industries.” (Interview No.13)

With respect to the interviewee’s explanations, Florida (2004) also discusses socially and culturally diverse, tolerant, and talented environments as being suitable for creative people. In fact, those areas implicitly resembles to gentrified or gentrifiable areas. Cihangir may also provide such a stage for creative groups. Another respondent who is from cinema and television sector at the early thirties, has been living in Cihangir for 2 years and manages a café in the neighborhood also categorizes residents into three different groups which are foreign people, young people who live alone, and very old families. According to her, Cihangir is comprised of the mixture of these 3 groups. The neighborhood structure is good and there are no excluded groups in Cihangir (Interview No.14).

Furthermore when existing residents are asked during the in-depth interviews, they are mostly defined as intellectual, educated, sophisticated, and free spirited people. Also they are described as elite and kind people, and majorly wealthy by the participants. One of the interviewees at the age of 32 compares old and new residents and indicates that new residents are more intellectual:

“There are many artists, middle and high income people in Cihangir. Intellectual level is very high. Everybody respects each other, also respect

street animals. It is so central and close to metro station. It is also not so close to the crowded places instead it is much more like a neighborhood. There are high quality restaurants and cafés. Moreover, it is so safe. If someone can afford it, he or she prefers living in Cihangir. On the other hand, original Cihangir people do not have same intellectual level with other new comers.” (Interview No.15)

He identifies Cihangir as being quality. However he indicates that everybody respects each other, as being a relatively new resident he actually reveals a tension between new comers and old residents related to intellectual level. Another 52 years old participant who lives in Cihangir since birth defines the neighborhood as a place of artists and foreigners but not as a place of socialites. According to him, people with high financial status come to Cihangir and this situation has not changed for many years (Interview No.16). Another relatively old resident interviewee mentions that residents’ income level is high but there are short term residents. He indicates that they cannot afford to live for a long time in Cihangir and it causes temporariness in the neighborhood (Interview No.17). Actually there are also short term residents who are university students or exchange students in Cihangir. They mostly become a tenant through apartment sharing related to high rents. Also according to the interview conducted by Palk (2010) with Buket Uzuner, a famous author living in Cihangir, there are also some young people who are trying to be artists besides writers and artists. Even it is a very expensive area; they share the houses just to be around here to meet with artists and agents to show their work or something (Palk, 2010). They also stay in Cihangir as short time residents.

According to one participant who is 65 years old, Cihangir represents democracy and freedom. There are directors, broadcasters, journalists, professors, academicians in the neighborhood which has an image that never changes (Interview No.18). Another resident who has moved to Cihangir to start her undergraduate studies at Mimar Sinan Fine Arts University in 1998 tells that during those years marginal groups lived in Cihangir and the neighborhood was not considered as being safe for many. She defines the existing residents as people who are either single or recently married

with no children, and single professionals who earn well as a dominant profile. In Cihangir, only a certain group of people lives according to her: those who love the city life, do not drive, eat out, and loves to attend parties given at homes (Interview No.19). The interviewee after her graduation has continued to live in Cihangir and she still lives there. Actually her neighborhood preference course overlaps with the definition of Darren Smith's (2005) studentification. With a limited economic source, studentifiers find a temporary accommodation in distinct neighborhoods. Smith (2005) indicates that some of the studentifiers prefer to remain in the neighborhood after their graduation. The interviewee had moved to Cihangir as a studentifier then she decided to remain in Cihangir and she still lives in there. Moreover, just like her most of other interviewees mention that residents in Cihangir have a different profile and a life style. An interviewee who has been living in Cihangir since 2006 tells that:

“The distinctive feature of Cihangir differently from other neighborhoods such as Moda and Nişantaşı is the number of single people living in the neighborhood. There are residents who prefer Cihangir for architectural reasons. On the other hand, families with children cannot live in the city center. There is even no playground and park. Cihangir Park is in a mess. There are no open spaces for children as breathing spaces. Therefore families do not prefer living in here. Middle class and intensively white collar people and a group of academicians are living in Cihangir. Related to outrageous prices people pay their rents with at least half of their incomes. If you go to the market called Carrefour, you will see that there are only cheap wines. No one buys expensive ones. Lately Cihangir is too much advertised and promoted. There are people who visit the neighborhood on the weekends. Some of them are coming to see celebrities.” (Interview No.20)

Therefore it can be said that mostly single or recently married couples are living in Cihangir besides other old families and residents. Due to the fact that Cihangir is a dense neighborhood and also very active because of being close to the center; it is considered as unsuitable for families with children. The answer of one of the

interviewees who is married and has a one year old baby corroborates this, when it is asked if they are interested in moving somewhere else in the future:

“Our situation may be changeable. Living in Cihangir is our own choice and we are pleased with it. However our baby is one year old now. In the following years we may think about moving from Cihangir for his needs. We again want to live in a place where a neighborhood concept exists. We want to live in a place with socialness and also a livable place with children. It may be Moda or Kadıköy.” (Interview No.11)

Therefore married couples after having a baby may have a tendency to move from Cihangir. In fact, it can be even said that couples with children are not included in the composition of the neighborhood commonly. Another ex-resident and pioneer interviewee with children who lived in Cihangir for a short time period before also answers in a similar way:

“I moved from Izmir and started to live in Cihangir directly. I did not choose to live in Cihangir by conscious but I had a chance to live in a neighborhood that fitted with me. I was single and it was easy to join to city life. However I do not think about living in Cihangir again. It is not suitable for families with children. Housing choice is important but social and economic environment is also important with children. Cihangir is so central. It is stuck in the center right now.” (Interview No.10)

On the contrary to the old residents, young couples are open to move to different neighborhoods whether they have an emotional commitment with the neighborhood or not. For instance after having a child, Cihangir does not seem to have a proper social and economic environment. Hence the ones that already left Cihangir do not think about moving back to Cihangir as they have a child or the ones that still live in Cihangir have a tendency to move to other neighborhoods after having a child. Another group comprised of single young people however does not think about moving from Cihangir. For instance, an interviewee who is planning to go abroad for working indicates that he may leave Cihangir job related; although, he adds that once

he returns back to Turkey, he again will prefer to live in Cihangir (Interview No.20). Moreover, another interviewee who has been living in Cihangir for 7 years also indicates that:

“I chose to live in Cihangir as bohemians and people like me are living in the neighborhood. Once I came back from abroad I preferred Cihangir as living place. There are neighbor relations. Everybody knows each other. I feel as if I am a denizen and everybody waits for me. 2 or 3 years ago there were not many people coming from outside. However Cihangir protects the same pulse. I do not have in mind to move from Cihangir until I go back to abroad.” (Interview No.21)

During the in-depth interview, it is easily seen that she has an emotional bond with the neighborhood and even she goes back to abroad, once she returns back to Turkey again she would choose to live in Cihangir accurately.

Moreover, new residents have a distinctive lifestyle and they bear the trace of different lifestyle patterns. For instance, interviewees mostly refer to consumption habits such as having late breakfast. An interviewee indicates that there is a life in Cihangir which does not end. For instance, she tells that cafés are always active in Cihangir. It has its own characteristics with its residents. She also gives an example that it is not possible to see breakfast served until 5 pm in anywhere but it is possible to have breakfast at 5 pm in Cihangir (Interview No.5). By this means Florida (2004) explains that some do not work on fixed schedule in these neighborhoods. For instance, they have a break and head a coffee shop down the street in order to see their associates and to interact with their networks. Another ex-resident participant who has an advertisement agency in Cihangir corresponding Florida's creative class is interested in moving back to Cihangir soon and he mentions that:

“There is a great circulation. There is a group of actors and actresses. I guess writers, actors and actresses, and painters are 40% of all residents. Everybody deals with something special; they are not working as a full time employee. Therefore in day time, they are always in here. For instance, between 9 am and

noon, in other districts all cafés and restaurants would be empty, but in lunch break, they would be full of people. However in Cihangir, anytime all cafés are always full of people. People in here are on the streets, in the cafés. Our friends are all artists; writers, painters, digital designers, manufacturers, academicians. In Cihangir, I feel myself as if I am in my childhood town. It is so safe and comfortable. Even if you lose your wallet, you will find it again in Cihangir. In other district, it is impossible.” (Interview No.22)

According to his expressions about existing residents, it can be understood that both the residents and their lifestyle are different. Also his explanations are quite similar with the Florida’s discussion. However even though the neighborhood is different, it still equals to the term neighborhood for many. Just like him other interviewees also mention that Cihangir is safe and comfortable. Another interviewee who has been living in Cihangir for 30 years also refers to safety and tells that in Cihangir especially women are safe because they are not alone. She gives an example that while searching for a flat, there will not be a problem in real estate agents if the person is single and alone. She actually means that in Cihangir nobody interferes with anyone even if a person is single or not (Interview No.23). Florida (2004) asserts that diverse places (e.g. gay neighborhoods) mean high tolerance and openness. According to him, younger women tend to live in such areas as they find those areas safer. Moreover, another gentrifier interviewee at the age of 43 who has been living in Cihangir since 1999 explains that people feel themselves free and safe in Cihangir. She states that before she was able to return home at night after drinking too much alcohol and it was not a problem to be alone for her. She also highlights that the most important thing is they are in the city center but in a neighborhood. According to her, Cihangir has a perfect neighborhood culture and residents are nice and good. Hence she feels free and safe and Cihangir represents freedom and feeling of neighborhood for her (Interview No.24). Therefore especially tenants do not avoid sharing the large part of their income for their rents (Interview No.21 and Interview No.24).

In fact, the cultural and social preferences play a more important role than economic factors for some groups. For instance, in spite of expensive rents in the neighborhood, many residents prefer to live in the neighborhood even as apartment sharers. Also university students and foreign exchange students are located in the neighborhood. Also Darren Smith (2005) asserts that in university cities studentification develops in previously gentrified areas and new student ghettos is shaped in both working class and middle class enclaves. In order to be close to cultural amenities and to other student groups, university students tend to choose those areas in spite of expensive accommodations rather than cheaper rental accommodations. Furthermore, the reason some people move to Cihangir since the neighborhood is quite popular and it shows some kind of status to live in Cihangir. As mentioned above, one of the interviewees indicates that there is temporariness in Cihangir related to high rent prices. Another twenty years old interviewee who is actually studentifier and apartment sharer in Cihangir also prefers to live in Cihangir related to cultural and social reasons. Moreover, he refers to similar points:

“People who are in search of excitement, enthusiasm and those who love city life are residents of the neighborhood. The neighborhood is very busy at weekends, but it is peaceful, quiet and uneventful during weekdays. At weekends, many people prefer to come here to socialize and have drinks, but I love the chaos of it. Everyone is getting together. I love this heterogeneity. There is continuous circulation and it is changing very fast. The lifestyle in Cihangir is different. Everyone is a tenant in Cihangir and people of Cihangir are very mobile.” (Interview No.25)

Another interviewee who has an “*alternative fashion*” boutique in Cihangir and lives in Cihangir since his birth indicates that:

“30% of residents live a bohemian lifestyle. They want to be famous, they come for series. 30% of population is foreigners who live here as Cihangir is like European district. 20% of residents are old local people and 20% are students. The number of tourists increases day by day. In Cihangir, nobody excludes anyone. Everybody respects each other. In Cihangir, foreigners,

transsexuals all live together. People who like a bohemian lifestyle live in Cihangir. They see life as an experience not as a commodity. Some residents actually do not have high incomes; they pay serious part of their income to rent. With the rest of their income, they spend time in cafés, bars. They live their life as an experience. In Cihangir, turnover is too high.” (Interview No.26)

The same interviewee thinks that as turnover is so high in Cihangir, it causes temporariness in the neighborhood. As mentioned before, many afford their rent barely or they pay the large part of their income for their rent. The reason is that residents of Cihangir have a different lifestyle and according to the interviewee they see life as an experience. In fact, Florida (2004) indicates that creative groups’ desire for experiential lifestyle options and they live their life like a tourists. Therefore it can be said that these explanations overlap with creative class habits. Another gentrifier interviewee who is an architect and also journalist states that there are two groups in Cihangir namely artisans and elite people who are fed with cultural capital. They give importance to social life and see it as an exploration according to him like the previous interviewee indicates. He states that even artisans transform for new comers or they leave the neighborhood. What he means is that as new residents have a different lifestyle, the transformation for commercial activities and artisans become inevitable. He gives old style tea cafés (coffeehouses) as examples which are now transformed into touristic coffee cafés currently (Interview No.27).

To conclude, in the past years, many foreign people from different nationalities and different ethnic groups lived together in Cihangir. The neighborhood has always had a multi-ethnic structure. An interviewee also verifies that there are still foreigners and people with different ethnicities in Cihangir. However he indicates that the density of non-Muslims has reduced (Interview No.28). On the other, it can be seen that apart from ethnic diversity, currently there are other social groups in Cihangir which means social diversity.

4.2 Tolerance

Tolerance encompasses acceptance and respect. It provides understanding of individual differences. In fact, different ethnicities, nations, genders, sexual orientations, ages, religious beliefs, socio-economic levels, and political views are accepted in terms of tolerance. Therefore accepted diversity actually brings tolerance along. Tolerance is about understanding and accepting rich dimensions of diversity. According to Florida (2004) diverse community is a sign of a place of open to outsiders and also new comers which also means tolerance towards others. Florida (2004) also indicates that an attractive place for creative class is a cosmopolitan place where outsiders become insiders easily.

Cihangir is seen as a neighborhood, in which various elements exists (Toprak, 2003 as cited in Sasanlar, 2006). It is known as one of the global neighborhoods of İstanbul. Also according to Toprak (2003), tolerance is high without distinction of language, religion, and sect for centuries in the neighborhood. Moreover, Caulfield (1994) indicates gentrification as a process that liberates the middle class by his emancipatory space practice. According to him, via gentrification there appear opportunities for social interaction and tolerance between different groups. It expresses tolerance toward this diversity for a distinctive life style. Therefore after discussing diversity and social composition of Cihangir, it is important to shed light on tolerance level of residents.

First of all during the in-depth interviews, excluded groups if there is any is asked to the informants. One of the ex-residents that left Cihangir two years ago indicates that families cannot find an appropriate environment to live in Cihangir as the lifestyle does not fit with children as there are many lesbians and gays. He questions how to explain to a child two women holding hands. Therefore according to his thought families with children are excluded in Cihangir. He thinks that they sent away transsexuals before but they came back by changing their names as gays and there is no longer traditional family structure to resist them (Interview No.8). As mentioned before during the diversity discussion, the couples after having a child do not prefer living in Cihangir commonly. However it is connected to the other factors such as

being stuck in the center or having inadequate playgrounds and parks. It is certainly not related to LGBTI groups in the neighborhood. In fact, the participant mentions about the conditions of park and playgrounds that are located in the neighborhood in a positive way but he criticizes that there are more dogs than children in the parks. He also adds that in Cihangir cats' population is more than dogs' population and dogs' population is more than children's population (Interview No.8). This reveals the intolerance towards LGBTI groups and animal lovers.

Another interviewee thinks that Cihangir belongs to old residents of the neighborhood. The local Cihangir people are egoless however the new comers behave as if they are the owner of Cihangir according to him (Interview No.2). Besides intolerance to marginal groups, there is a tension between old and new residents clearly. An ex-resident who was born in Cihangir and already left Cihangir also demonstrates the same situation:

“I never think about coming back to Cihangir. It is not like before. I have kids and Cihangir is not suitable for living with children. Cihangir has changed a lot. There were more high class people before. Now new residents walk around with garters and think that they are so modern. It is not modernity. Formerly Greeks, Armenians, other foreigners, and Turks had been living all together. In my childhood, Cihangir was a real neighborhood. Now I even cannot recognize it. The image of Cihangir has changed a lot in recent years. It was better before.” (Interview No.29)

While remembering old composition with nostalgia, she shows displeasure with the new residents and criticizes them. Another interviewee at the age of 25 who was born in Cihangir states that:

“I am tired of living in here. I think to leave the neighborhood every day once again. All İstanbul comes to Cihangir. If I had a child, I would move from Cihangir immediately. In Cihangir there is a marginal life style. They feel as if Cihangir is America. They think that they can do whatever they want. But I got really tired with those people.” (Interview No.30)

Just like other interviewees, he also complains about new residents even though he is comparatively young. The lifestyle of new residents does not come around old residents' ideas. Hence some of the residents already left Cihangir or some of them think about moving from Cihangir as also mentioned during the diversity discussions. Also another interviewee complains about residents and indicates that people are pushing the limits as Cihangir is an extremely free neighborhood. He is disturbed when people get drunk and make noise in the streets; therefore, he asserts that he seriously think about moving sometimes (Interview No.26).

Moreover, new residents are defined as intolerant to other residents. The same interviewee who states that the number of dogs is more than the number of children also indicates that dogs are more valuable than children. He gives an example that once somebody goes to Cihangir Park and tells dog's owner to take away his dog a little bit as her child is afraid, it will be serious problem. He also criticizes the condition of Sanatçılar Park as people drink on the stairs and indicates that it is not modernity. He continues that:

“While they want to become free, they restrict our freedom. They say that you are conservative and not tolerant but it is exact opposite. They are so offensive. With regards to intellectualism they are nothing. They talk politics but they do not know politics. Empty vessels make the most sound. There are not men who are similar to our period's men.” (Interview No.8)

While complaining and criticizing them as being intolerant and offensive, he also mentions from old composition with nostalgia. In addition, another interviewee who thinks about leaving Cihangir also refers to their “*so-called free lifestyle*” and defines Cihangir as a “*disgusting place*”. According to him a group of people who did not deserve Cihangir moved in and it started with the movement of the famous film director. He indicates that they made up a name called *Cihangir* and everybody behaves as if they are bohemian and the neighborhood is also bohemian. Yet formerly it was so as stated by him. He currently sees Cihangir just as a “*Barlar Sokağı*” (A street with full of bars is famous in Turkey mostly in touristic areas.) and adds that it is not possible to sleep till 2 – 3 am because of noises from outside. He

concludes by saying that Cihangir is really *Yalan Dünya* which was a television series that took place in Cihangir and means fake life. According to him money spoils all people (Interview No.9). Therefore comparatively old residents see new residents as people who have money but no respect. On the other hand, another interviewee at the age of 37 thinks that living in Cihangir is a story but it is a good story. There is a bohemian life and new generation feel themselves comfortable in the neighborhood according to him. However he also indicates that some of them come to Cihangir to derive profit from money making houses and they constitute their own small ghettos (Interview No.11). In opposition to him, another septuagenarian participant who has been living in Cihangir since 1946 chalks Cihangir's popularity up to magazine news. He thinks that there is a show off and they cause prices to blow up in the neighborhood. He does not see new residents as established but he articulates that he was born in Cihangir (Interview No.31). Another participant who is a studentifier asserts that there are people in Cihangir who spend their last money for living in Cihangir as a show off. He resembles it to people who smoke expensive brands of cigarettes; yet, they do not have any money for transportation costs (Interview No.25). Also other interviewee at the age of 25 who manages a breakfast saloon in Cihangir and has been living in Cihangir for 8 years thinks that many people move in Cihangir just to say that they are living in Cihangir even though Cihangir is like a neighborhood of marginal parts. He also adds that the ones who have moved to Cihangir barely afford their rents. They even minimize their daily need's costs and 3 to 4 people live in the same flat (Interview No.32).

According to Mendillioğlu (2011) the preference of living in Cihangir is related to social life. While residents take advantage of cafés of the neighborhood, they live a poor life. As a result of his study on sociology of waste, Mendillioğlu (2011) finds out that they consume cheap brands outside of their public life such as shampoos, oils, napkins. For instance, they order their food not from Cihangir but from somewhere cheaper. He also finds perfume bottles, cosmetics, clothes from wastes and he indicates that the image is very important for residents (Mendillioğlu, 2011). In fact, it is also related why people prefer living in Cihangir even they barely afford

their rents. Moreover, a journalist who has been living in Cihangir for 3 years also indicates that:

“Living in Cihangir is a show off. In the neighborhood intellectuals such as writers, scriptwriters, and novelists are living. Actors and actresses are also living in Cihangir; however, they are staying for short periods. Even though Cihangir seems a neighborhood of the elites, people who are somewhat intellectual and have an average income may choose to live in this neighborhood for a kind of show off.” (Interview No.33)

Just as she mentions some people stay in Cihangir for short periods, another interviewee also refers to the same point. While he indicates that living in Cihangir is prestigious for some people, people want to live in Cihangir even for a short time in order to improve their career according to him. Cihangir was in a mess in the past, but now it is a brand (Interview No.34). Actually apart from other gentrified neighborhoods in İstanbul, the effect of media is significant in Cihangir. As Cihangir has been mentioned in the television series, magazine programs, and even in the caricatures, it has become popular day by day. Currently it is called with artists, film and series crews. According to an interviewee who is a journalist, Cihangir is an expensive neighborhood and Bim Market in which cheap products are sold and Carrefour Gourmet which is relatively expensive market are located so close in the neighborhood. According to her, this shows the conflict between old and new residents. She asserts that new residents do not want people richer or poorer than themselves. They want people just like themselves (Interview No.35). Furthermore another interviewee who is a journalist and architect touches upon related arguments:

“I think the most important problem of Cihangir is its being closed. It can be even considered as a gated community. It is almost like an independent region. It has its own life style. It is becoming homogeneous day by day. Immigrants, LGBTI individuals, Kurdish minorities left the neighborhood so there are not as many different groups as before. There was a lot of pressure on these groups. Modernity is related with awareness but they show it as it is living in Cihangir. This makes Cihangir close and gated place.” (Interview No.27)

As existing residents live in Cihangir as a vanity and look for people like themselves, they actually create a gated neighborhood abstractly. Therefore Cihangir is becoming an emancipatory space especially for middle class groups and it starts to exclude others. In relation to that, Lees (2000) indicates that gentrification does not end up with social interaction and unity. It does not mean an emancipatory space for all social groups (Lees, 2000) in contrast to Caulfield's (1994) explanations. The same interviewee continues that:

“Before the life style was the issue but now it is different. Cihangir is a trendy place with new cafés. They are using the neighborhood like a décor. Cihangir is like a décor; therefore, it loses its identity. Not physically but socially it has been rebuilt lately.” (Interview No.27)

As mentioned before many new residents see life as an experience and they also tend to use the neighborhood as a décor. In fact, they also expect people like themselves to reside in Cihangir. All these represent the intolerance of new residents towards others and their effort to constitute their own ghettos. One of the interviewee who moved to Cihangir in 2001 tells that when he arrived to Cihangir, it was a real neighborhood and it was a place where White Turks were not living (Interview No.9). By saying White Turks, he refers to the new elites.

Another interviewee defines new residents as being unreliable and unstable. According to him they have no moral value. He exemplifies that one of his friends tweeted that Cihangir was a place to call your ex-girlfriend “*yenge*” and he thinks that it is so true. Nevertheless he indicates that he maintain his life in Cihangir and has friends in Cihangir. However the lack of moral values causes unreliability towards residents for him (Interview No.20). Actually, according to the tweet example he also does not represent tolerant stance towards others.

On the other hand, another interviewee at the age of 40 who has been living in Cihangir for 8 months indicates he likes Cihangir as a lifestyle. Nobody interrupts each other so he feels peaceful. According to him the tolerance level is high and residents are not offensive. Residents of the neighborhood have special socio-cultural

characteristics. According to him “*varoş*” people (people from outlying or bordering areas) are not living in Cihangir. He defines existing residents as journalists, artists, actors and actresses of soap operas, writers, novelists, and film makers. Also foreigners live in the neighborhood. In fact, all kind of people can be found in Cihangir; however, fundamentally people of a prominent socio-cultural status are living in Cihangir (Interview No.36). Actually this is very picture of new residents wanting people like themselves in Cihangir. First by stating nobody interrupts each other and tolerance level is high, he represents himself as tolerant. However later by saying “*varoş*” people are not living in Cihangir but people with intellectual jobs are living in Cihangir, he reveals his request for a middle class emancipatory neighborhood. He actually wishes people like himself to live in Cihangir and other outsiders are not welcomed in Cihangir for him (Interview No.36). Similarly, another interviewee starts telling that:

“At the time there were people who had been excluded. In the middle of the 1980s, there were fights even in the streets. There were transsexuals also. Currently there is no one excluded. There are people who come, see, like, and decide to live in Cihangir. Once someone starts to live in Cihangir, he/she keeps living in here.” (Interview No.16)

However he immediately afterwards indicates that:

“I may be disturbed if I see head scarfed people in the outside. I do not want people from AKP to come and live in Cihangir because they would increase in number.” (Interview No.16)

First he means that everybody is welcomed in Cihangir; however, then he maintains a stance against people from AKP and head scarfed people. Hence he actually excludes a certain group and does not want them to reside in Cihangir and he displays a tension and no tolerance towards a certain group.

On the other hand, another interviewee indicates that there are people from each level and they have high tolerance and culture of living together in Cihangir. According to him, in Cihangir cooperation and solidarity are very high and there is a

mosaic (Interview No.6). In relation to that, another participant asserts that in fact if the municipality did not interfere, there would be voluntary and collective work just in rural life in Cihangir (Interview No.21). These explanations while representing a tension between the municipality and residents, they actually refer to the existence of unity and solidarity between all residents. An interviewee who has been living in Cihangir for 30 years thinks that there is an automatic security mechanism which is provided by neighbors and the headman of the neighborhood instead of the government. She thinks that everybody protects each other in Cihangir (Interview No.23). These make think of Cihangir as a closed area to outside just as mentioned before and as if there is an integration and unity between residents. However it is open to debate if there is really integration between all residents. For instance, the same interviewee indicates that both gays and transsexuals live comfortably in Cihangir. They can rent a flat easily and they are never disturbed by no one. They can do their shopping from local markets and have conversation with shopkeepers. She thinks that Cihangir is a place where no one questions another one (Interview No.23). However as mentioned before there are residents who complain from LGBTI groups and do not want them to live in the neighborhood. Even some of the participants who are in creative class groups such as caricaturists, professionals are not tolerant to marginal groups.

Furthermore, the same interviewee refers to Cihangir as a place where from different religions and cities many people live all together and exemplifies that:

“Cihangir is a public place. From different religions, cities many people live all together, their kids play together. For instance, when I was a child, there was not distinct difference between schools. Level of income was like hidden. Now it is totally different, inequality of income is so obvious, high income people make their children go to private schools. However in Cihangir, it is just like old times. My son’s name is Jan, I am Muslim, and my husband is Christian. In Cihangir, all kids namely David, Mary, and Hasan play all together. It is the spirit of Cihangir.” (Interview No.23)

On the other hand, a journalist respondent puts the record straight and indicates that:

“Even though Cihangir seems to be a neighborhood of associations and organizational movements, the Cihangir Forum was one of the inactive forums during the Gezi Park Protests for instance. The residents of Cihangir are not organized and they are self-centered. They seem critical; however, they are not inclusive. The residents of Cihangir are reactive to the outsiders. They have prejudices and they consider the outsiders as the others. One artist got stabbed recently in the neighborhood. He gave a statement as he was stabbed by a street child. Residents started to say that they have no security because of homeless adolescent in the neighborhood. But then it was understood that not a homeless adolescent but one owner of a bar in Cihangir did it.” (Interview No.33)

She criticizes residents that they behave as if they are organized and in unity; however, they are not. She thinks that they are self-centered and not inclusive. In relation to that, Atkinson and Butler (2005) approach gentrification as a revanchist movement just like Smith and they assert that it represents elite re-taking the urban core. Therefore they give an example of people with zero tolerance for the homeless just like in the example given by the interviewee. Also another interviewee gives a similar example:

“One resident laid cardboard over floor for dogs lying down. Once one homeless man laid down on it, the resident got angry with him and told him to leave and that dogs would sleep over there.” (Interview No.8)

To sum up, it is seen that there is a bilateral tension between old residents and new comers. Both sides have tensions towards each other. The old residents actually think that their living space is in danger and the others in other words “*new comers*” are also afraid that they will harm their lifestyle. In fact, even though new comers are thought to be tolerated, they actually want people like themselves to come to the neighborhood. They want to make an emancipatory neighborhood for middle class and people like themselves.

4.3 Personal Networks and Meeting Places

Diverse and tolerant composition brings social interaction along and it provides personal networks and their meeting places to be shaped. According to Caulfield (1994), in gentrified neighborhoods both existing residents and new groups benefit from new opportunities of social interaction. As diverse groups interact, there appear new forms of personal networks. Also Cihangir has experienced several social and physical changes. Especially after the gentrification period, commercial activities have transformed radically. Before there were mostly greengrocers, groceries, and tailors in Cihangir which has decreased in numbers lately (Başyazıcı, 2012). Currently, there are numerous cafés in the neighborhood. According to Başyazıcı (2012), actually media and the profile of continuous and temporary population in the neighborhood have pioneered new commercial activities especially cafés. Accordingly Florida (2004) remarks the importance of social interaction and points to importance of third places such as cafés. In third places, people have a chance to hang out for good company and lively conversation. Therefore third places also have a role in making communities more attractive (Florida, 2004). So the considerable increase in the cafés in Cihangir provides an advantage. In fact, in Cihangir there are also some traditional and old shops such as Atakan Tuhafiye and Elvan Patisserie which represent continuing neighborhood life. One of the interviewees emphasizes that before Cihangir was not a place as it is now. It has become modern now. The interviewee draws an analogy that the old “*offal shops*” have become modern cafés now (Interview No.10). Another interviewee thinks that with the increase of those commercial activities such as cafés Cihangir lost its original features because the important characteristics of Cihangir are started to be consumed by visitors. He thinks that people who do not understand the city’s identity come to Cihangir and consume it daily (Interview No.6). Moreover, a journalist by referring to the feeling of transiency and temporariness which dominates Cihangir indicates that media generally reports stories of celebrities and magazine but never introduces the problems of the residents. Thereby, Cihangir becomes a brand name and it is commercialized according to her (Interview No.33). In relation to that, another respondent continues that Cihangir is a podium especially for moviemakers, actors,

and actresses. Sitting in cafés and drinking coffees in Cihangir is networking for them according to him (Interview No.20).

To begin with, during the field studies, it is observed that most of the residents are glad with the physical and spatial changes. When asked about safety, cleanliness, and atmosphere, most of the participants agree that Cihangir is cleaner and services are good compared to past. Also some of them think that commercial transformation and physical changes are good. Conversely there are some people who are not glad because of transformation of many places into hotels and cafés. Whether they are glad or not, as a matter of fact they mostly socialize with their own social circle. They all have their own location of social groups and personal networks. Actually there are different collaborations in the neighborhood anymore. Some people are close to the neighborhood association; Cihangir Beautification Association, while some are close to the municipality and participate to their council's meetings such as *Tuesday Meetings*. There are temporary and short term residents besides old and new residents. Actually there are different categorizations of personal networks due to different groups. As Butler (2003) mentions that existing residents see the new groups as a kind of social wallpaper but they do not interact with them (as cited in Lees, Slater & Wyly, 2008). Relatedly Zukin (1987) indicates that gentrifiers do not have an attempt to integrate with existing residents and also existing residents do not hold with the alien culture of gentrifiers. This means different community types and consumption types (Zukin, 1987). Actually this is still valid in Cihangir but alternatively this tension appears between old and new residents instead of pioneers and residents dating back to the pre-gentrification era. According to an interviewee who is a journalist, each socio-demographic group of Cihangir has its own network (Interview No.33). Another interviewee mentions that even the municipality addresses different groups in different platforms:

“The municipality answers different groups of people in different platforms. For instance for the neighborhood meetings there is a different group of participants while in the project meeting there is also another group of people. Also they behave different to masses.” (Interview No.27)

Moreover, most of the interviewees define public spaces as inadequate especially Cihangir Park is mentioned as being neglected and inadequate. On the other hand, many see Firuzağa as a public space anymore. An interviewee indicates that a person can go and hang on in the Firuzağa Café but he emphasizes that he has never gone to the Gezi Park and sat in there for instance (Interview No.10). During the in-depth interviews, when asked where they get in contact and meet with others in Cihangir, it is seen that many socialize mostly in the cafés in addition Firuzağa is the common meeting place of nearly all respondents. An interviewee indicates that:

“We meet in the Firuzağa Square. Everybody meets there first, and then goes for a walk for instance. The number of cafés is more than the number of artisans which has to be in a normal neighborhood. On the other hand a transformation to café is good for me. It is nice and good.” (Interview No.9)

Another interviewee also asserts that they meet in the Firuzağa Square and sit in the café usually. According to him, Cihangir is a popular neighborhood so tourists and even the visitors of Beyoğlu coming to the neighborhood. The change of commercial activities is good; correspondingly there occurs a good development and urbanization. In fact, he indicates that the property values are increasing concomitantly which is a positive result for him as he has several properties in Cihangir (Interview No.2).

Another respondent also indicates that they meet in Firuzağa Square or Elvan Patisserie. The interviewee points out that he also attends to Tuesday Meetings of the Municipality Council in Art Gallery. By the way, for him to choose meeting space as the Firuzağa Square is that it is close to the mosque also (Interview No.4). Other respondents also state that they meet in the Firuzağa Square mostly (Interview No.1, Interview No.23, and Interview No.30). The old resident interviewee also says that they also meet in Doyum Café (Interview No.23). Actually in addition to them nearly all the participants use Firuzağa as a meeting place and for social events. In fact, it is easily observed in the neighborhood as the flow in the Firuzağa Square is too high. It is quite popular even Cihangir is identified with the Firuzağa Square. Also the

Firuzaga Square is like a starting point for most of the events in the neighborhood. An interviewee who is the owner of İz Café in Cihangir implies that:

“Cihangir people once love somewhere they do not leave there. They do not want to change their habits. Everybody has their *own cafés* that they frequently go and spend time. For instance, to Firuzaga tea garden mostly film makers go. As İz Café is kind of isolated, mostly writers and scenarists come here. There are about 3-4 specific groups that come here frequently. Last year, directors were coming here.” (Interview No.15)

Just as he mentioned, many emphasize that they meet in “*certain*” cafés. In fact, residents all have their own networking habits and also their meeting space is certain and definite. Relatedly Florida (2004) indicates that people find a peer group to be comfortable with in certain places. A place with chain restaurants and stores is not authentic and they offer the same experience in everywhere. Therefore people look for authentic venues (Florida, 2004). Another interviewee also says that they meet in *certain cafés* such as Firuzaga or Smyrna. He finds the changes in commercial supply positive and thinks that it has constituted in accordance with demand in time by itself. Cihangir has become a colorful place according to him (Interview No.16). One of the gentrifiers indicates that they meet in Kahvedan Café or sometimes in the neighborhood association. According to her a distinct group of people prefers Cihangir in general more bohemian and intellectual people prefer. In Cihangir there is a cultural heritage. She indicates that Café Leyla in Cihangir attracted the cinema community. Before instead of Leyla there was Sütüş Café. Then Leyla also was closed and an Italian restaurant called Meyla was opened. However it did not fit to the neighborhood. Then Leyla Café has come back again (Interview No.7). Today Leyla Café is a networking place of mainly television series actors and actresses.

Another respondent indicates that while many meet in Firuzaga, he prefers to take his friends to other cafés. He criticizes the Cihangir Park due to safety problems and inadequacy (Interview No.26). Furthermore, an interviewee who has a child expresses that as they have a child they are in a different class anymore. He asserts that there are not many families with children. As apartments in the neighborhood

are usually very small so they are not suitable to meet all together. Therefore they prefer going to Karaköy and Maçka Park. He sees every single day in Cihangir like a social event actually. Sanatçılar Park and the stairs are used by visitors more than residents and they are not suitable for individual use or collective use according to him (Interview No.11). On the other hand, another participant who is 30 years old indicates that:

“We meet in the Otto Café or in other cafés with friends who are 40-45 at most. With friends who are more than 50 for instance we meet in the Firuzağa café or in the Sanatçılar Park. If you have just 5 TL, you can drink tea in Cihangir. If you do not have money and say that I will pay later, they will accept it in Cihangir. Even though the Firuzağa Mosque is a religious place and we have nothing to do with it, we can find anyone in there.” (Interview No.21)

Another respondent says that population structure is comprised of young people in Cihangir. However other people also adapt and orient to young people according to him. 60 years old people are also in the same group and in the same atmosphere with young people (Interview No.22). Therefore distinction related to age is not valid in Cihangir. Age does not matter so they have contacts from each group in the neighborhood.

Furthermore, it is seen that artisans in Cihangir tend to meet in front of their shops. Their store and shops turn to networking and meeting place (Interview No.3, Interview No.8, and Interview No.12). Also, one of the interviewees who had lived in Cihangir for a long time and currently manages an advertisement agency in Cihangir tells his plans to open a café within the office in order to provide a networking with their colleagues:

“We have chosen Cihangir for our office, because focus of our network was Cihangir. People want to come to Cihangir. Even at weekends, as people enjoy spending time in Cihangir, it does not be a problem for them to come for appointments to our office for instance. Our colleagues that we are working together are also in Cihangir. Also our work partners are close to here. Our

customers are not in Cihangir; however, as people love culture of Cihangir they become eager to meet later in Cihangir. We are planning to open a café to the ground floor of our office soon. It will not be open to everybody, just we and our colleagues will be welcomed in the café. Everybody will share their network in here.” (Interview No.22)

Atkinson and Bridge (2005) asserts that new comers form their residential cohorts with whom they share an identity shaped by occupation and social network, stage in the lifecycle, and locational preferences. Therefore it is obvious that as well as using the storefront for meeting there is also a tendency to arrange their networking space there. In other words, workplaces also become networking spaces.

In addition to these groups, there is a group of people who meet in the Cihangir Beautification Association and have a strong relation with the association. They indicate that they meet in the association and participate to the organizations through the instrument of the Cihangir Beautification Association (Interview No.5, Interview No.6, Interview No.7, Interview No.20, Interview No.24, Interview No.27, and Interview No.28). According to the interviewee, Cihangir Beautification Association by organizing concerts and exhibitions enables collaboration within the neighborhood (Interview No.5). An old resident who is an academician asserts that:

“I was close to creative groups. At that time there was a situation of demolition of the Cihangir Park. We formed a platform and organized protests. Everybody was supporting us. I was a member of the Cihangir Beautification Association. I was participating to any event through the neighborhood association. Everybody was not *artsy-fartsy* of course. We also had a pickle store and a *borek* store. I also had informal communications with tradesmen. On the other hand via the neighborhood association we were connecting in a formal way. We were meeting in the Cihangir Park, Firuzağa Café, and Elvan Patisserie.” (Interview No.10)

Another interviewee who is also on the side of the neighborhood association and besides working in the association says that:

“We meet in the association or Firuzağa Café. For instance, we never meet in the Cihangir Park, there is nothing over there. In Cihangir people are socializing in cafés. Also as though sitting in a café, people sit and spend time on the stairs of Sanatçılar Park. For instance, I do not prefer spending time in Cihangir at weekends because many people come here at weekends. In fact, I do not think that they are doing something else except drinking tea in Firuzağa Café.” (Interview No.24)

A new resident respondent indicates that there were only a few cafés but now there are plenty. He also gets in contact with others in certain cafés. According to him, open spaces and public spaces of the neighborhood are generally used by the university students. University students come to Cihangir and wander around (Interview No.36). Smith (2005) explains that as students experience a time period away from their parental homes, they have a tendency to shape their own personal cohorts and they search for a membership to a wider student grouping. Relatedly a university student and apartment sharer interviewee indicates that:

“People mostly socialize in private home parties. Many house parties are organized in the neighborhood. DJ parties are organized with Erasmus groups, university students, and consular employees. People get in contact in these organizations. These parties are generally house parties. For example, foreign people get together in Holy Café in Cihangir. People of Cihangir have the tendency of attending community events and protests. Also street culture is very advanced in Cihangir.” (Interview No.25)

Another participant who came to the neighborhood as a studentifier before also mentions about house parties. Also she talks about Firuzağa Mosque which was used for its real purpose before according to her. She sees Firuzağa as a liberated place to socialize currently. Cihangir Park is another place that people meet particularly those who have dogs. Also Sanatçılar Park is other public space to meet (Interview No.19).

In short, Firuzağa is a spatial embodiment where residents of different social backgrounds socialize together. It is a gathering place for neighborhood residents and

also mostly for visitors. In Firuzağa, different classes share something. On the other hand, each resident defines his/her certain caf  s that they share their own network in these third places. There are also people who are connected to the neighborhood association; while there are other groups closed to the municipality and attend to the Tuesday meetings of the municipality council. Actually in Cihangir there are different collaborations and alignments.

CHAPTER 5

CONCLUSION

This thesis aimed to investigate new forms of gentrification and to observe the new social groupings in the gentrification processes. It explored the socio-demographic and spatial shifts and the new socio-demographic structure in Cihangir as a result of proceeded gentrification processes. In order to examine the changes in the socio-demographic structure, three factors namely “*diversity*”, “*tolerance*”, and “*personal network and meeting places*” were used in accordance with the ongoing debates on gentrification.

5.1 Findings of the Case Study

First of all, in accordance with the results of research findings on the diversity discussion it is seen that pre-gentrification residents mostly mention about the old composition and neighborhood’s “*good old days*” with nostalgia by referring to the old neighborhood culture and the neighborly relations between non-Muslims and Muslims. Earlier there was a social mix and they were living in harmony according to old residents; therefore, they look for old multi-ethnic and multi-religious structure. While some of them think that the neighborly relations are still strong; others complain about the new composition. However almost none of them are willing to move away from Cihangir and they all have an emotional commitment to the neighborhood. Just as pre-gentrification residents, early gentrifiers also look for the old composition. Besides social diversity, they also expect functional mixture and

they look for old and traditional shops of Cihangir. It can be said that the new physical and commercial structure does not fit even with early gentrifiers. As commercial activities have started to transform the neighborhood rapidly, traditional artisans such as tailors, traditional bakeries, tilt makers, and so on have also decreased in number. Some of the gentrifiers are not glad with the changes. They mostly complain of high prices and new comers who consume the identity of Cihangir according to them. However there are also some who are glad with the changes. There are also relatively new residents. They mostly want people like themselves to come to Cihangir. In this sense, some old residents indicate that new residents do not have respect to others and they behave as if they are real “*Cihangirlis*” (residents of Cihangir) even though they are not. Therefore it can be said that there is a tension between old and new residents. The lifestyle of new the new residents is different compared to old residents. They give importance to social life and see life as an exploration. Since Cihangir is quite popular, it grants a desired status to live in for them. Therefore they do not avoid spending most of their income for their living spaces. Also there are short term residents. They expect to provide network to themselves and try to be close to artists’ community. Moreover, students and young people are coming to the neighborhood because it is located near universities and very close to the cultural and entertainment center of the city. Related to expensive rents, they mostly become tenant through apartment sharing just to be around. As turnover is high in the neighborhood, it causes temporariness.

Secondly, the findings on the tolerance discussions reveal some tensions between residents. First of all, old residents think that Cihangir belongs to old residents rather than new comers and they display intolerance towards them. On the one hand they remember old composition with nostalgia; on the other hand they show displeasure with new composition. Many think that new residents behave as if all of them are bohemians and they have no respect and moral value. In general, the lifestyle of new groups does not fit with old residents’ ideas. That being said, some old residents see Cihangir as a place where people live all together. Cooperation and solidarity is so strong according to them. Also some old residents see neighborly relations strong

and well. However some say the exact opposite by indicating that residents are not in unity and not organized. They are seen as reactive to the outsiders and excluding the outsiders. According to the interviews with some new residents it is clearly seen that even though some residents seem tolerated, they want people just like themselves in terms of intellectual and socio-economic levels. Many perceive living in Cihangir as a show off as mentioned before; hence, they use the neighborhood as a *décor*. Moreover, some new residents clearly indicate their desire for belonging to the middle-upper class neighborhood. This actually may cause Cihangir to become introverted even a gated place.

Thirdly, according to the personal network and meeting places discussions, after the gentrification process the neighborhood has started to transform. This has resulted in some original features to disappear in time; while the neighborhood has become like a brand. Some residents criticize this and think that some people come and consume Cihangir daily. On the other hand, some residents are glad with these physical and spatial changes. Today many use the neighborhood as a podium and provide networking. Each group in Cihangir has its own cohort and network. Relatedly, they have their own meeting places. They meet in certain and distinct cafés. Firuzağa besides welcoming many visitors is also used as a common meeting place by nearly all groups. There is also a group of people who are closely related to the Cihangir Beautification Association and they mostly interact through the instrument of the association. Oppositely, a group of especially old residents enhance collaboration with the Beyoğlu Municipality. Also students, short term residents, and foreigners get in contact in their own cohorts. Therefore it can be said that there is not an exact social interaction between all groups in Cihangir. Rather, people shape their own personal networks and get together in their own meeting places. There are different collaborations and networks.

All in all, diversity in Cihangir rises from the overlapping socio-economic and political processes which are non-Muslims departure, arrival of rural migrants, emergence of gentrification, and currently new comers related to new mutations of gentrification. There are many diverse groups in the neighborhood and there appear

some tensions between different groups. However also there are distinctive personal networks and people form their social interaction in their distinctive meeting places. While these segregated networks may not result in a unified community; they may be preventing conflicting ideas and tensions

5.2 Concluding Remarks

As gentrification has moved away from its classical form, new forms of gentrification have emerged in the gentrification literature. Also in Cihangir there is a mutation in gentrification and there are hints of new mutations of gentrification in the neighborhood. After the departure of minorities, many people moved to Cihangir during the 1970s and 1980s and then gentrifiers during the early 1990s. At the beginning triggering reasons were mostly related with physical and spatial factors. However currently people do not prefer living in Cihangir not only for physical reasons. After the emergence of gentrification in the neighborhood, related to the interest of media, television series, and artists living in Cihangir, the neighborhood has become more and more popular in time. Hence it has attracted people's attention. Although early gentrifiers preferred the neighborhood basically for physical reasons, some people have started to prefer living in Cihangir for socio-cultural reasons. In case of Cihangir, there is something different anymore compared to earlier stages of gentrification. Apart from gentrifiers and followers, in the neighborhood there are different new groups who are corresponding with the new gentrification debates such as studentifiers, super gentrifiers, and creative groups. Differently from pre-gentrification residents and gentrifiers, new comers are mostly coming to Cihangir for the networks it provides. In relation to that, while socio-demographic and physical factors have been used in order to explain the early gentrification processes; related to new gentrification debates, new factors and variables have become apparent recently. As gentrification processes are mutating, it is not rational to define the social groupings such as gentrifiers and followers. In order to define new social groupings in Cihangir, diversity, tolerance, and personal network and meeting places are used as factors.

As a result of the case study in Cihangir with the factors of diversity, tolerance, and personal network and meeting places, three new social groups come to the forefront. Observed new social groups of Cihangir are old residents, new residents, and temporary residents. First of all, old residents are comprised of rural migrants from Anatolia and Eastern Turkey, few numbers of non-Muslim minorities, old İstanbulites and local Cihangirlis, and also early gentrifiers who are mainly academicians and artists that have come to the neighborhood during the 1990s. This old resident group is used to diversity and living in a traditionally diverse neighborhood since the beginning, because both pre-gentrification residents and early gentrifiers have witnessed a socially diverse composition. In fact, the early gentrifiers can be compared to the social preservationists of Brown-Saracino (2009). There appear both negative and positive attitudes towards the new composition and new groups by old residents. However in a word, old residents are tolerant as much as new residents fit their life styles in Cihangir. In terms of networking, there are residents who have collaboration with the neighborhood association as well as residents who collaborate with the municipality. In addition, they generally prefer long established cafés and stores. Some of them even look for traditional shops and stores.

Moreover, new residents are comprised of super gentrifiers. They move to Cihangir for networking and gaining either cultural capital or economic capital in Bourdieusian terms to themselves. New comers seeking cultural capital can be compared to social preservationists of Brown-Saracino (2009) just like early gentrifiers. They are mainly comprised of journalists, academicians, creative groups, and artists. Many of them choose living in Cihangir in order to be inside the life of Cihangir and provide cultural capital rather than the locational and physical advantages of the neighborhood. On the other hand, new comers for economic capital can be compared to the social homesteaders of Brown-Saracino (2009). They are mainly famous directors and drama actors who buy several houses from Cihangir in order to make profit. In fact, at this juncture like super gentrifiers seeking for economic capital, there are also wealthy old residents in Cihangir that enjoy the unique physical advantages of the neighborhood and look for economic return.

Therefore it can be stated once more that new residents either look for cultural or economic capital. In terms of diversity, new residents are familiar with the gentrification and old residents in the neighborhood. Even though during the interviews some have displayed no tension, generally they are not tolerant for the arrival of new heterogeneous socio-demographic groups to their neighborhood. In a sense, they have an attempt to find areas of “*people like us*”. In fact, as they require middle-upper class residents just like themselves, Cihangir relatedly starts to become an emancipatory place for middle class. In terms of networking, they mostly prefer the newly established cafés and stores. They all have their distinct and certain meeting places and cafés in the neighborhood. As long as these latter groups of gentrifiers prefer the neighborhood for cultural capital, other new residents do not refrain to utilize high levels of economic capital to capture the cultural capital of gentrification. It means increasing cultural capital clears the way for economic capital. This causes prices to increase more and more which actually results in super gentrification in the neighborhood.

In addition to old and new residents, there are temporary residents coming for short time periods to Cihangir. They are comprised of students as studentifiers, exchange students, long-term visitors, artists that come to feed from cultural capital, and other temporary residents seeking experiences. There are also young people who are trying to meet with artists and agents in order to become artists. Therefore they come for job-related networks with old and new residents. Temporary residents are also looking for networking with people like themselves. They try to take advantage of Cihangir as a podium. Also some of them move to Cihangir just because the neighborhood is popular and it shows some kind of status to live in. Even their income is scarcely enough to afford their life in Cihangir; they share the houses and stay in the neighborhood as an apartment sharer for short time period because of their limited economic sources. They are not included by the old and new residents of the neighborhood, they have their own networks. They prefer Firuzağa for networking. Also students and temporary residents get together in house parties and specific cafés.

All in all, this thesis aimed to explore new gentrification forms and processes and find out the new social groupings in the light of new gentrification debates. The study emphasized the efforts on the new gentrification debates in the context of Turkey over the case of Cihangir. It discussed both the demographic and spatial shifts and new socio-demographic structure in Cihangir. Through the instrument of proposed three factors which were “*diversity*”, “*tolerance*”, and “*personal networks and meeting places*”, new socio-demographic groupings were asserted in Cihangir which were old residents, new residents, and temporary residents. All these social groups were observed to represent different social groupings.

This thesis contributes new perspectives to the gentrification literature. It contributes new definition of social groups and discussions for gentrifiable and already gentrified neighborhoods. For the further researches, the relations of each group in itself also the relations between the groups may be studied. The relations between the groups and their interrelations, and how these social groups are meeting each other may be examined. In this sense, the theoretical framework developed in this study may provide a basis for further researches.

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APPENDIX A

INTERVIEWEES' PROFILE

	Age	Gender	Occupation	Year of settlement in Cihangir	Date & place of the interview
Interview No.1	50	Male	Environmental engineer	Born in Cihangir	26.12.2014 Firuzağa
Interview No.2	50	Male	Shop owner	Born in Cihangir	15.05.2015 Asri Turşucu
Interview No.3	80	Male	Owner of real estate agent	53 years	14.05.2015 Murat Emlak
Interview No.4	74	Male	Retired	41 years	15.05.2015 Elvan Pastanesi
Interview No.5	60	Female	Neigh. assoc. worker	43 years	03.07.2014 Cihangir Beau. Asociation
Interview No.6	59	Male	Retired industrial eng.	24 years	25.12.2014 Kafika Café
Interview No.7	60	Female	Academician in Mimar Sinan	22 years	26.12.2014 Kahvedan Café
Interview No.8	54	Male	Owner of a variety store	52 years	15.05.2015 Atakan Tuhafiye
Interview No.9	38	Male	Working in <i>Leman</i>	14 years	27.12.2014 Can Market
Interview No.10	55	Male	Academician in Mimar Sinan	5 years (Between 1992-1997)	25.12.2014 Mimar Sinan University
Interview No.11	37	Male	Professional	25 years	14.05.2015 Balya Organik
Interview No.12	70	Male	Owner of greengrocer	30 years	14.05.2015 Yılmaz Manav

Interview No.13	58	Female	Academician in Kadir Has University	7 years	04.07.2014 Rafineri Café
Interview No.14	28	Female	Cinema & TV Café owner	2 years	03.07.2014 Holy Café
Interview No.15	32	Male	Café Owner	4 years	04.07.2014 İz Café
Interview No.16	52	Male	Computer engineer	Born in Cihangir	24.12.2014 Kamera Emlak
Interview No.17	45	Male	Municipality worker	12 years	10.09.2014 Elmahra Khan
Interview No.18	65	Female	Headman	32 years	01.07.2014 Headman's Office
Interview No.19	34	Female	Architect	17 years	24.12.2014 Journey Café
Interview No.20	35	Male	Advisory	9 years	26.12.2014 Kronotrop Café
Interview No.21	30	Female	Café manager	7 years	24.12.2014 Otto Café
Interview No.22	40	Male	Advertiser	8 years	03.07.2014 Ouchh Adv. Agency
Interview No.23	55	Female	Café owner	30 years	01.07.2014 Pera In Café
Interview No.24	43	Female	Economist	16 years	03.07.2014 Cihangir Beau. Association
Interview No.25	22	Male	Student	1 year	02.07.2014 Doyum Café
Interview No.26	30	Male	Owner of alternative fashion store	Born in Cihangir	02.07.2014 Fashion Project
Interview No.27	61	Male	Architect / Journalist	25 years	24.12.2014 Open Radio
Interview No.28	56	Male	Doctor	21 years	02.07.2014 Cihangir Beau. Association
Interview No.29	36	Female	Manicurist	Born in Cihangir	15.05.2015 Halil Dressing
Interview No.30	25	Male	Manager of pickle store	Born in Cihangir	15.05.2015 Asri Turşucu
Interview No.31	72	Male	Retired	69 years	01.07.2014 Art Gallery

Interview No.32	25	Male	Café owner	8 years	02.07.2014 Van Breakfast
Interview No.33	35	Female	Journalist	3 years	04.07.2014 Doyum Café
Interview No.34	45	Male	Mayor advisor	3 years	10.09.2014 Beyoğlu Municipality
Interview No.35	30	Female	Journalist	4 years	09.03.2014 Holy Café
Interview No.36	40	Male	Entrepreneur	1 year	04.07.2014 Social Café

APPENDIX B

QUALITATIVE ANALYSES OF INTERVIEWS

Interview No	Interested in moving from Cihangir	Comments on the current composition	Tolerance level	Comments on commercial transformations	Personal network & meeting places
No.1	No response // probably no	Looking for a mixed population as before	Displays no tension	Not negative	Firuzaga
No.2	No / never	Real Cihangirlis are old resident for him // but glad with the composition	Tension with new comers // finds them arrogant	Positive // he enjoys increasing property values	Firuzaga
No.3	Never	Looking for old days when Cihangir was really cosmopolite	Tension with new and young residents // they are "abhorrent" for him	Not glad with changes and increasing number of cafés	Firuzaga Square
No.4	No	Very glad // strong neighborly relations	Displays no tension	Not glad with chain firms as prices are increasing	Firuzaga & Elvan Patisserie

No.5	No	Glad but looks for old ethnic diversity	Displays no tension	Not glad with tourism activities and commercial activities	The Neigh. Assoc.
No.6	No response // probably no	Nice harmony in terms of culture & economy // mosaic	Tension with outsiders	Not glad with cafés // visitors consume the identity of Cihangir daily	The Neigh. Assoc.& Distinct cafés
No.7	No // just may change the apartment again in Cihangir	People with certain level of education and profession // social mix is changing // social mix is a must	Displays no tension // but there is danger for residents' "living space" related to transformations and outsiders	Not glad // besides cafés "traditional shopping venues should stay"	The Neigh. Assoc.& Distinct cafés
No.8	Moved from Cihangir 2 years ago // never thinks about coming back	Too complicated both "head scarfed women" and "purple haired men" live in Cihangir	Tension with new comers, LGBTI, and pet owners	Not glad // it is like "Caféland", old activities have gone	In front of his store
No.9	Yes but because of his job he cannot	It is not as it was before // "Disgusting place" like Barlar Sokağı // mass housing area of actors // real Cihangirli has gone	Tension with new comers and outsiders	Glad with transformation and cafés	Firuzaga

No.10	Does not think about coming back to Cihangir as the location is not suitable for families	Bohemians // “however if one has money he may also become Cihangirli”	Displays no tension	Neutral stance // but he thinks that “Old offal shops became modern cafés”	NA // Before: The Neigh. Assoc & Firuzağa
No.11	In the following years he may move related to their child	Very different groups of people	Displays no tension // but desires “people like us”	Does not complain about changes // not interested in new venues	Karaköy & Maçka Park
No.12	No	Cosmopolite // distinct people from distinct groups	Displays no tension // no one is excluded	Glad with the changes	In front of his store
No.13	No response	Comprised of old, young, and foreign people	Displays no tension	No response	Distinct cafés
No.14	No response	Foreign and young people, and very old families	Displays no tension	Glad with changes as new venues are not mass but like niches	Distinct cafés
No.15	No response	Comprised of artists, middle-upper income people with high intellectual levels	Tension with old residents // their intellectual level is not the same with new residents	Glad with the changes	Distinct cafés

No.16	No / never	Comprised of artists and foreigners // intellectual, educated, and sophisticated people	Tension with head scarfed people and people from AKP group // does not want them in Cihangir	A nice change // Cihangir has become a colorful place	Firuzaga & Distinct cafés (Smyrna Café)
No.17	No response	Composition is changing // high income level people and short-term residents // families have left	No response	Glad with the changes	The Beyoğlu Municip. Council Meetings
No.18	No	There is unity // new comers, foreigners are accepted // directors, journalists, professors, and academicians	No tension	Glad with the changes	No response
No.19	No response	Certain group of people live in Cihangir // single professionals or recently married couples with no children who earn well	No tension	Glad // before there were just one café but now there are many cafés, restaurants	House parties

No.20	In the following years he may go abroad // when he comes back, he will live in Cihangir again	Not so glad with residents // there are single people, few families, artists, and directors (Cihangir is their podium)	Tension with new comers // they are unreliable, dirty, and have no moral value	Not glad with chain stores otherwise glad with cafés	The Neigh. Assoc.& Distinct cafés
No.21	No // until goes back to abroad // if she returns back, she will live in Cihangir	Glad // there is sincerity // bohemian and free spirited people	No tension	Not glad // it causes property prices to increase	Firuzaga & Distinct cafés (Otto Café)
No.22	Looks for to move back to Cihangir // searching a flat	Glad with the composition // artists, writers, painters, designers, academicians	No tension	Glad with the commercial activities	Firuzaga & Distinct cafés // also planning to open a café to welcome his colleagues
No.23	No // just may change the apartment again in Cihangir	Different ethnicities and nations all live together // also LGBTI lives comfortably // there is special composition	No tension // everybody belongs to Cihangir and lives all together	No response	Firuzaga & Distinct cafés (Doyum Café)

No.24	No // just may change the apartment again in Cihangir as she is a tenant	Everybody is Cihangirli, no segregation // government employees, students, artists, local people	No tension	Not glad // it gets crowded day by day // it is disturbing	The Neigh. Assoc.& Firuzağa
No.25	After graduation he will move from Cihangir	Glad with the heterogeneity and continuous circulation // there are people in search of excitement, enthusiasm and those who love city life	No tension // but criticizes people who spend their last money to live in Cihangir	Glad with the commercial structure	House parties & Distinct cafés (Holy Café)
No.26	No response	People with bohemian lifestyle live in Cihangir // they live life as an experience not as a commodity	Tension with new residents // people are pushing the limits	It is getting more international and corporative // rapid change	Distinct cafés
No.27	No	Two groups in Cihangir: artisans and elite people // people live their life as an exploration	Tension towards new movements as Cihangir becomes close and gated place	Not glad exactly // there is a change for new comers and customers // old transforms to new and modern	The Neigh. Assoc.& Distinct cafés

No.28	No	Looking for old version of Cihangir “nostalgic and original” // there is still diversity but it has reduced	No response	No response	The Neigh. Assoc.& Distinct cafés
No.29	Never think about coming back to Cihangir // it is not suitable for families	There were minorities and high class people before // new residents are so marginal and disturbing	Tension with new residents // no moral values	Glad // before there were just certain venues now there are numerous cafés	NA
No.30	Yes	Elite and kind people with high intellectual levels // before it was better with Greeks and other foreigners	Tension with new comers // they feel as if Cihangir is America // they think they can do whatever they want	Glad // it provides liveliness // the flow and circulation is very high	Firuzaga & In front of his store
No.31	Sometimes // does not like the nearby area and residents of Cihangir	Actors and actresses of Yeşilçam were living before // now there are many foreigners and investors	Tension with new residents // they are not real Cihangirlis // they live in Cihangir as a show off	No response	The Beyoğlu Municip. Council Meetings

No.32	He has to live in Cihangir to minimize the transport costs otherwise he would not	8 year ago well-known people and artists around, now they are gone // Erasmus students and tourists	Tension with new comers // criticizes that people live in Cihangir just to say they are living in Cihangir even they barely afford their rents and share apartments	Glad with the changes	Firuzaga & In front of his store
No.33	No response	Intellectuals; actors, actresses, writers, scriptwriters are living mostly for short period // feeling of transiency and temporariness in the neighborhood	Criticizes the residents as being reactive to the outsiders, not organized, not inclusive, and self-centered // they have prejudices	Not glad // Cihangir is no more a living space; it has become an investment area	Distinct cafés
No.34	No response	Neighbor relations are weak // it is important to turn back to the old neighborhood life	No response	Glad with the changes	The Beyoğlu Municip. Council Meetings
No.35	No response	Intellectual, free spirited and absolutely rich people // writers, drawers, painters, artists	Criticizes the residents // They do not want people richer or poorer than themselves. They want people like themselves	Not glad // it results in displacement of artisans	Karaköy & İstiklal Street (as they are cheaper)

No.36	Yes // in order to open a café to one of an adjacent neigh.	Tolerance level is high and residents are not offensive // journalists, painters, artists, actors and actresses, foreigners, short time residents	Tension with outsiders // “Varoş” are not living in Cihangir // wishes people like himself	Glad with the changes	The Beyoğlu Municip. Council Meetings & Distinct cafés
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APPENDIX C

NEW SOCIAL GROUPS OF CIHANGIR

	Who are they?	Diversity	Tolerance	Network & Meeting places
Old residents	Migrants from Eastern // a few non-Muslims // İstanbulities // early gentrifiers	They are used to diversity and living in a traditionally diverse neighborhood.	As much as new residents fit their life styles, they are tolerant.	Collaboration with the neighborhood association or with the municipality // long established cafés and stores
New Residents	Super-gentrifiers: 1) new comers for cultural capital such as journalists, academicians, artists, etc. 2) new comers for economic capital such as the famous directors and drama actors	They are familiar with the gentrification and old residents in the neighborhood.	They are not tolerant for the arrival of new heterogeneous socio-demographic groups to their neighborhood. // “people like us”	Newly established cafés and stores // distinct meeting places and cafés in the neighborhood

Temporary Residents	Students, exchange students, long-term visitors, artists that come to feed from cultural network, other temporary residents expecting experiences	They are coming for job-related networks with old and new residents and also for networking with people like themselves // open-mindedness for the diversity	They are not included by the old and new residents of the neighborhood, they have their own networks.	Firuzaga dominated by temporary residents and visitors // students' and temporary residents' networks; house parties and specific cafés
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